The Dissertation Committee for Theodore James Jobe certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

CHALLENGE SEQUENCE TELLINGS:

A CASE-STUDY ANALYSIS OF STORYTELLING

Committee:

_____
Dale April Koike, Supervisor

_____
Frederick Hensey

_____
Elizabeth Keating

_____
Orlando Kelm

_____
Joel Sherzer

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by

Theodore James Jobe, B.A., M. A.

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This work is dedicated to my parents, Avery C. Jobe and Mary McLendon Jobe, whose unfailing love, support, and encouragement made this possible; to my wife, Rebecca, who always believed in me; and to my son T.J. whose arrival has filled our hearts with such hope.

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Supervisor: Dale Koike

Previous approaches to the analysis of stories and storytelling have frequently focused attention on the analysis of a single idealized, teller-centered monologue-style storytelling event consistent with what stories are believed to be and the functions they serve. More recent approaches to the analysis of stories and storytelling have revealed a more complex understanding of the form and function of storytelling (Ervin-Tripp & Küntay, 1997; Mandelbaum, 1987; Norrick, 2000; Ochs, 1997). Rather than the canonical teller-dominated, monologic storytelling event consistent with popular notions of the "*raconteur*" frequently treated as a form of performance, the stories told on a daily basis are frequently interactive events, produced by both the teller and the recipient, that fulfill noteworthy social functions

beyond providing a potential source of entertainment. Stories may assume a wide variety of organizations outside of teller-directed storytelling events, in which participants play distinct roles and execute specific socio-interactional acts. Finally, new developments in the analysis of storytelling demonstrate that stories are not exclusively linguistic acts.

This study follows these developments in the analysis of storytelling with a case-study analysis of two distinct storytelling events in which the tellers uniquely begin their tellings by challenging the recipient in the form of a riddle to guess the story's central event. A detailed discussion reveals how the two storytelling events are actually produced in both their linguistic and extra-linguistic dimensions to contribute to the story's production and message. This analysis contributes to the field of oral narrative analysis by illustrating another interactive form of storytelling – the "challenge sequence telling," – in the growing catalogue of storytelling organizations. Challenge sequence tellings support narrative evaluative functions as an evaluative focalization mechanism that highlights the importance of the story's central narrative event while characterizing this event as surprising. Challenge sequence tellings also support the telling's social dimension by contributing to the participants' formation of rapport by directly implicating the story recipient in the production of the story in a form of talk consistent with gossip.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Previous approaches to the analysis of storytelling have frequently focused their attention on the analysis of highly idealized, teller-centered, monologue-style storytelling events consistent with literary-based notions of narrative and storytelling (Mandelbaum, 1987; Norrick, 2000). As in a literary analysis, the storytelling event is treated either as a context-free narrative 'text,' analogous to a novel or short story, or as a situated literary event in which the teller acts as the 'author/narrator' who engages a relatively passive audience with a storytelling event. This literary-based notion of storytelling is consistent with popular 'metapragmatic' conceptions of how and why stories are told. That is, stories are popularly regarded as self-contained texts produced exclusively by the teller as a form of entertainment. As evidence, storytelling events are often introduced with such phrase as in "Bob told me this funny story about how…" and "Did you hear the story about…"

Recent advances in the analysis of storytelling, however, have indicated that this literary-based notion of storytelling and its associated emphasis on the canonical teller-centered, monologic storytelling event is more representative of what we think storytelling is than what more frequently actually occurs in the storytelling of everyday interaction. As noted by Norrick (2000), the literary-based vision of storytelling has been bolstered by a tendency to analyze exclusively highly idealized, teller-centered, performative storytelling events. The analysis of storytelling across the range of interaction, however, reveals that in actual practice storytelling is a much more complex process with a wide range of social functions. The case-study analysis that is presented in the current investigation represents another effort to support our understanding of storytelling as frequently a more interactive phenomenon.

Rather than consisting of a limited set of permutations, as might be suggested by a *raconteur*-style view of storytelling events, storytelling scholars have revealed a wide continuum of storytelling organizations and strategies, from the canonical teller-centered, monologic telling at one extreme to highly interactive and distributive storytelling events that blur the distinction between tellers and recipients at the other extreme. Blum-Kulka (1993) describes the range of storytelling organizations as follows:

> At the dominantly single-voice end of the continuum, we find monologic narratives, in which one primary narrator remains in control of the floor throughout the event. […] At the multivoiced, polyphonic end, we find

> narratives that defy the distinction of primary vs. secondary narrator(s), being constructed in close collaboration between several participants. Between these two ends, we find dialogic narrations, constructed typically through a question/answer format (Blum-Kulka, 1993:385).

While Blum-Kulka describes the variability of storytelling organizations in terms of the relative participation of participants, other researchers have identified distinctive genres of storytelling, ranging from 'narratives of personal experience' (Labov, 1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967, 1968) and 'reports' (Polanyi, 1985), to 'collaborative fantasies' and 'self-aggrandizement stories' (Norrick, 2000).

While storytelling may constitute a source of entertainment for its participants, interactional accounts of storytelling have increasingly pointed to the social functions of storytelling (Miller *et al.*, 1990; Ochs, 1992; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Storytelling plays a significant role in how participants interpret the world around them, publicly portray themselves, and negotiate their interpersonal relationships. An analysis of the socio-interactional functions of storytelling allows the researcher to address not just what was said but also why it was said.

The increasing application of videotaping to the analysis of interaction has revealed the significant role that extra-linguistic communicative displays play in interaction in general and in storytelling in particular. While language enjoys a privileged position within human communication, face-to-face interactants do not restrict themselves to linguistic utterances to communicate with each other. Participants make frequent use of extra-linguistic communicative displays, including

facial expressions, body posture, and physical artifacts in a kind of multi-modal performance through which they organize their activities, signal meanings, and shape the interpretation of the accompanying linguistic production.

This study supports these advances in the analysis of storytelling with a detailed case-study analysis of two discrete storytelling events, "El Convento" ('The Convent') and "La Buseta" ('The Bus'). First, this analysis illustrates recent advances in storytelling analysis by demonstrating in detail how these two storytelling events are actually produced. "El Convento" and "La Buseta" illustrate the highly interactive, dynamic, and multi-modal organization storytelling events may assume in situated interaction. Second, this analysis, supporting recent developments in storytelling analyses, examines the form and function of another previously unexamined storytelling strategy, the 'challenge sequence telling.' In this strategy the teller uniquely challenges the recipient at the beginning of the story in the form of a riddle to guess the story's central narrative event or, in other words, what the story is about. These challenge sequence tellings, it will be argued, are designed to support the telling's evaluative and social functions. In narrative terms, the challenge sequence contributes to the evaluative interpretation of the central narrative event as particularly surprising. In socio-interactional terms, the challenge sequence fosters rapport among participants by attributing an increasingly active role to the recipient in the story's production and interpretation.

Notably, while this research is principally intended to address issues within the field of oral narrative analysis, it also makes a significant contribution to the field of Conversation Analysis (CA), the analytic framework employed in much of this study. CA has been widely adopted in the social sciences in the English-speaking world, yet it has not enjoyed the same application among non-English-speaking researchers. This study, accordingly, represents one of the first applications of CA in Spanish in general and Venezuelan Spanish in particular. It is hoped that the analysis presented here will illustrate the value of CA as set of analytic tools to researchers of Spanish.

1.2 Organization of the Study

This study is organized as follows. Chapter 2 presents an introduction to the methodological framework, Conversation Analysis (CA), which is used in the analysis of participants' interaction, along with a broader discussion of the role of extra-linguistic communicative systems in interaction. This chapter closes with a discussion of some of the distinguishing features of Venezuelan Spanish, the data language of "El Convento" and "La Buseta." Chapter 3 presents an introduction to oral narrative analyses, including a characterization of 'narrative' in general and 'storytelling' in particular. Chapter 4 introduces the two storytelling sequences

examined here and draws parallels between the features of these storytelling events and recent advances in the analysis of storytelling. Given the importance of the challenge sequence in the development of "El Convento" and "La Buseta," Chapter 5 examines the interactional organization of this sequence, which is structurally identical to the telling of a riddle. Chapter 6 applies the observations developed in Chapter 5 on the organization of challenges to an analysis of the role of the challenge sequence as a storytelling strategy in "El Convento" and "La Buseta." Chapter 7 discusses the distinguishing features of challenge sequence tellings "El Convento" and "La Buseta" while developing parallels between this storytelling strategy and other storytelling organizations and verbal genres.

1.3 Demonstrative Analysis

Before proceeding to the presentation of the methodological framework of this study developed in Chapter 2, a preliminary illustrative analysis of two storytelling events is presented. This analysis is intended to highlight the disparities between the canonical teller-centered, monologic analysis, on the one hand, and more recent interactional accounts of storytelling, on the other. These divergent analyses are illustrated in the examination of two storytelling events, "The Cigarette" and "El Cangrejo" ('The Crab'), found in other research

1.3.1 "The Cigarette": The Teller-Centered, Monologic Account of Storytelling

Perhaps the research most representative of the canonical, teller-centered analysis of storytelling is Labov & Waletzky's (1967, 1968; Labov, 1972) work on the storytelling of young Black inner-city men in New York City. Labov and Waletzky's research is here exemplified in Labov's (1972) analysis of a storytelling sequence, referred to below as "The Cigarette." Labov's analysis is noteworthy for his treatment of the telling's narrative content as a narrative 'text,' which, as he describes, is produced exclusively by the teller. In this storytelling event, the narrator, Larry, describes how he almost killed a man over a cigarette.

The Cigarette[1]

a An' then, three weeks ago I had a fight with this
other dude outside.

b He got mad
'cause I wouldn't give him a cigarette.

[1] Whereas in the rest of this study storytelling sequences are presented with numbered lines in accordance with Conversation Analysis convention, "The Cigarette" is presented here as originally transcribed by Labov with lettered lines.

c Ain't that a bitch?

(Oh yeah?)

d Yeah, you know, I was sittin' on the corner an' shit,

smokin' my cigarette, you know

e I was high, an' shit.

f He walked over to me,

g "Can I have a cigarette?"

h He was a little taller than me,

but not that much

i I said, "I ain't got no more, man,"

j 'cause, you know, all I had was one left.

k An' I ain't gon' give up my last cigarette unless I

got some more.

l So I said, "I don't have no more, man."

m So he, you know, dug on the pack,

'cause the pack was in my pocket.

n So he said, "Eh man, I can't get a cigarette, man?

o I mean — I mean we supposed to be brothers, an'

shit."

p So I say, "Yeah, well, you know, man, all I got is

one, you dig it?"

q An' I won't give up my las' one to nobody.

r So you know, the dude, he looks at me,

s An' he — I 'on' know —

he jus' thought he gon' rough that

motherfucker up.

t He said, "I can't get a cigarette."

u I said, "That's what I said, my man."

v You know, so he said, "What you supposed to be

bad, an' shit?

w What, you think you *bad* an' shit?"

x So I said, "Look here, my man,

y I don't think I'm bad, you understand?

z But I mean, you know, if I had it,

you could git it

aa I like to see you with it, you dig it?

bb But the sad part about it,

cc You got to do without it.

dd That's all, my man."

ee So the dude, he 'on' to pushin' me, man.

(Oh he pushed you?)

ff An' why he do that?

gg *Everytime somebody fuck with me,*

why they do it?

hh I put that cigarette down,

ii An' boy, let me tell you,

I beat the shit outa that motherfucker.

jj I tried to *kill* 'im — over one cigarette!

kk I tried to *kill* 'im. Square business!

ll After I got through stompin' him in the face, man,

mm You know, all of a sudden I went crazy?

nn I jus' went crazy.

oo An' I jus' wouldn't stop hittin the motherfucker.

pp Dig it, I couldn't stop hittin' 'im, man,

till the teacher pulled me off o' him.

qq An' guess what? After all that I gave the dude the

cigarette, after all that.

rr Ain't that a bitch?

(How come you gave 'im a cigarette?)

ss I 'on' know.

tt I jus' gave it to him.

uu An' he smoked it, too!

(Labov, 1972:356-58)

Labov begins by breaking "The Cigarette"'s narrative content into a series of 'narrative clauses' — each lettered in his transcription — through which, as he describes, the narrator linguistically represents the set of narrative events that actually occurred in the world. Larry starts by describing himself as "high, an' shit" in line (e) when he is approached by a "dude" in line (f) who asks him for a cigarette in line (g). In this way, the teller is able to encode real world events into a narrative sequence. Labov, moreover, notes that the teller may intersperse 'non-event narrative clauses,' such as line (c) ("Ain't that a bitch?"), that do not advance the narrative chain of events but, as is discussed further in Chapter 3, play a significant role in how the tellers develop their interpretation of narrative events.

At a macro-analytic level of analysis, Labov further analyzes "The Cigarette" as composed of a series of larger narrative structures, including the abstract, orientation, complicating action, result, and coda. These macro-narrative structures are, as described by Labov, representative of the universal structures of narrative performance. In "The Cigarette," for example, Larry begins with an abstract in lines (a-b) describing what the story is about — a fight over a cigarette. Subsequently, he provides an orientation in lines (d-e) describing the narrative's background setting: the narrator was sitting on the corner, high on drugs, smoking a cigarette. Complicating actions, like lines (f) ("He walked over to me") and (i) ("I said, 'I ain't

got no more, man,"), answer the question, "Then what happened?" and function as narrative events. The narrator then describes the result, telling what finally happened in line (qq) where he gives the cigarette to the boy after all. In the coda in line (rr), "Ain't that a bitch," Larry finally marks his telling as complete.

The evaluation, "the means used by the narrator to indicate the point of the narrative, its *raison d'être*: why it was told, and what the narrator is getting at" (Labov, 1972:366), by contrast, is developed across the trajectory of the telling. Labov notes Larry exploits a two-part structural organization typical of self-aggrandizement 'fight' stories in Black English vernacular to develop the evaluative perspective of "The Cigarette." The narrator initially portrays himself as cool, calm, and collected in the face of adversity before subsequently transforming himself into the "most dangerous kind of fighter, who just goes crazy" (Labov, 1972:368).

Now consider the following interactionally-based analysis of storytelling event "El Cangrejo" taken from the current investigation's same corpus of materials as "El Convento" and "La Buseta." This analysis, by contrast, is noteworthy for its description of storytelling as an interactional event. Both tellers and recipient play a significant role in producing the storytelling event. Participants may be seen to tell their stories through both linguistic and extra-linguistic communicative displays, and these tellings are described as carrying out significant socio-interactional functions.

1.3.2 "El Cangrejo": An Interaction-Based Analysis

In the following storytelling event, "El Cangrejo," participant B describes how he got a crab drunk. Following the convention in the rest of this study, "El Cangrejo" is presented in alternating lines of text, first in the original Spanish and subsequently in English translation in italics. These sequences are transcribed in Conversation Analytic transcription notation. Please see Chapter 2 for a discussion of conversation analytic transcription conventions.

"El Cangrejo"

1 A: El tipo decía, el narrador, algunas cum- hacían – cumplían pues su

A: The guy said, the narrator, some man - made – managed to complete

2 meta de ir y llevar los huevos, pero otros no lo hacían porque no::

their goal of going and carrying the eggs, but others couldn't because::

3 lo carro lo mataba pero cualquier cantidad allí destripao (0.8) y lo

the cars killed them, but there were all kinds there disembowled (0.8) and

4 hacen cuando hay luna llena, o sea, no lo hacen cualquier día

they do it when there's a full moon, that is, they don't do it any day

5 tampoco, en cualquier momento, no, eso, sólo cuando hay luna

either, at any time, no, that, only when there's a

6 llena

full moon

7 B: yeh

B: yeah

8 A: pero arrechísimo (0.4) ¿Cómo es que emborrachaste a uno?

A: but really impressive (0.4) How is it that you got one drunk?

9 B: Por Tarani, Carajito en-, agrícula por cierto lo que pasa es que por

B: Near Tarani, Carajito in-, what happens is that near

10 allí sale mucho cangrejo. Entonces yo hice un hueco grande

there there are a lot of crabs. So I made a big hole

11 (hand motions demonstrate the hollowing out of a hole) y agarré

(hand motions demonstrate the hollowing out of a hole) and grabbed

12 un cangrejo más o menos (demonstrates size with hands) más o

a crab more or less (demonstrates size with hands) more or

13 menos grande también.

less big too

14 A: ¿Cómo?

A: How big?

15 B: Así (demonstrates size again with hand)

B: Like this (demonstrates size with hands)

16 A: *uhm*

A: *uhm*

17 B: Y lo metimos en el hueco y empezamos a echarle cerveza

B: *And we put it in the hole and started to pour beer on top of him*

18 A: ha ha ha

A: *ha ha ha*

19 B: Y tú sabes que esos coño cangrejo caminan eh-

B: *And you know that those damn crabs walk eh-*

20 A: hacía [atrás

A: *back[wards*

[

21 B: [hacia atrás

B *[backwards*

22 A: sí

A: *yeah*

23 B: no entiendo

B: *I don't understand it*

24 A: Como de al lado y hacia atras

A: *Like sideways and backwards*

25 B: Y el cangrejo, o sea, caminaba pero regularmente, sea,

B: And the crab, that is, walked but normally, that is (demonstrate with hands)

26 A: ha ha ha

A: ha ha ha

27 B: [Hacia delante, hacia detrás (acts out with body)

B: [Forward, backwards (acts out with body)

[

28 A: [ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

A: [ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

29 A: Como [vas tú cuando estás borrachito

29 A: Like you [do when you're drunk

[

30 B: [borracho

B: [drunk

31 B: Camino [pero

B: I walk [but

[

32 A: [casi-

A: [almost

33 B: Es una pea que le metimos al cangrejo

B: We got that crab hammered

34 A; epa hablando de peas hace mucho tiempo que no tomamos

A: hey speaking of getting hammered it's been a long time since we had anything to drink

Notably this storytelling event originates out of the previous speaker's discussion in lines 1 through 6 in which she describes a movie that morning about the mating habits of crabs. Subsequently in line 8 she asks participant B to tell the story about how he got a crab drunk. B initiates the story in lines 9 and 10 with information consistent with the story's background setting before providing the first narrative event in line 10 in which he makes a hole in the sand. In lines 11 and 12, B reveals the second narrative event in which he grabs a crab whose size he describes with his hands. Participant A, however, does not understand something and initiates repair on B's last turn at talk with the global repair mechanism 'cómo' '*what*'. B uses his hands to characterize the size of the crab again in line 15, and A receives this information in line 16 with the uptake marker 'uhm.' B then reveals the third and fourth narrative events in line 17 when he describes himself as placing the crab in the hole, which he then fills with beer, to which A reacts with a series of laugh tokens in line 18. B then begins to characterize how crabs walk in line 19 but stops with a cut-off, at which point A takes the floor in line 20 to finish a characterization that B

echoes slightly in overlap in line 21. A receives this characterization as correct in line 22, at which point B states he does not really understand how crabs walk in line 23. A again takes the floor in line 24 to offer another characterization of how crabs walk. B, thereupon, provides the next narrative event, in which the crab ended up walking normally. A receives this information as funny in line 26 with a series of laugh tokens. B further elaborates on the crabs walking in line 27 with both his words and his own bodily movements, while A laughs in unison in line 28. A thereupon characterizes the crab's walking as similar to B's way of walking when he is drunk in line 29. B anticipates A's comment by producing the word <u>borracho</u> *'drunk'* in overlap with A's turn at talk. Next, B begins to characterize his walk in line 31. Finally, B closes the storytelling event in line 33 by providing the resuming comment '<u>Es una pea que le metimos al cangrejo</u>' *we got that crab hammered*, with which A affiliates herself in line 34 by redirecting conversation towards the related topic of the last time that the participants drank alcohol.

This analysis is noteworthy in several respects. First, the storytelling event is presented as the dynamic product of both the teller and recipient. While B assumes the primary role of teller, A plays a fundamental role directing the course of this telling. Most notably, it is A that brings this telling to the floor through her elicitation in line 9. A requests more information about the size of the crab in line 14 and then helps B characterize how crabs walk in lines 20 and 24. Finally, following B's completion of the telling, it is A who draws parallels between the story's theme —

how crabs walk when they are drunk — and how B behaves himself when he is drunk. Rather than the exclusive product of the teller, "El Cangrejo" is dynamically produced through the interaction of the teller and recipient.

This analysis of "El Cangrejo" highlights the role of extra-linguistic communication in interaction. Whereas Labov's analysis is consistent with an analysis of "The Cigarette" as a linguistic text, the transcription of "El Cangrejo" reveals the role played by extra-linguistic communicative displays in this storytelling event. B makes use of his hands and body to describe the size of the crab and how it moved in lines 12, 15, and 27. In this sense, "El Cangrejo" is not a strictly linguistic event but rather a 'multi-media' event in which participants exploit multiple communicative systems in the development of their communication.

Finally, "El Cangrejo" may be described in terms of the socio-interactional functions accomplished by the telling. "El Cangrejo" is consistent with a 'retelling' — a story previously told to the same audience — since participant A requests its telling. Retellings, as noted by Norrick (2000), foster rapport among participants by allowing them to align themselves around a pre-established common understanding while at once highlighting their common membership in the social group of which the story forms part of its collective memory. Narratives of personal experience like "El Cangrejo," moreover, may serve significant socio-interactional functions of producing public representations of identity (Miller *et al*., 1990).

As may be seen in these contrasting analyses of "The Cigarette" and "El Cangrejo," the approaches pursued are markedly distinct. Labov's monologic, teller-centered approach is consistent with a literary-based notion of storytelling. As in literary analyses, he treats the storytelling event as a static 'text' to be decomposed into its component parts, including narrative clauses, non-event clauses, and macro-narrative structures. Little to no recognition is given to the actual context of production, including who the teller is, why the story was told, how the recipient reacted, or any other feature of the immediate context of performance that might influence the course of the narrative's production. Similarly, Labov treats the teller as the 'author' who is uniquely responsible for the narrative's production. It is the teller who matches a series of narrative clauses to the actual real world events transpiring. The teller, likewise, is described as initiating the narrative, directing its course, and finally closing it down. No active role, by contrast, is attributed to the recipient. Finally, as in literary analyses, Labov treats this storytelling event primarily as a form of entertainment. Accordingly, he highlights the aesthetic, performative functions of the telling, consistently commenting upon the relative merits of the narrator's performance. "The Cigarette" is, for example, described as "one of three fight stories told by Larry which match in verbal skill his outstanding performance in argument, ritual insults, and other speech events of the black vernacular culture" (Labov, 1972:356).

The analysis of "El Cangrejo," by contrast, is consistent with an analysis of the storytelling event as an interactive rather than dialogic storytelling event. The analysis examines the dynamic production of the storytelling event as a situated event. Both tellers and recipients are described as playing a fundamental role in the narrative's production and the development of its message. Participants exploit the features of the situated environment to develop the narrative, including extra-linguistic communicative displays. Finally, the telling of the story is not described exclusively as a form of entertainment. On the contrary, this analysis recognizes the role of the storytelling event in the execution of the participants' social lives.

Chapter 2 first presents the methodological framework observed in this study, after which Chapter 3 further examines the differences between these approaches to the analysis of storytelling.

Chapter 2

Methodological Framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodological framework employed in the collection and analysis of the storytelling events in this study. The primary set of analytic tools used in the analysis of interaction, Conversation Analysis (CA), is described. Given their salience in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," the role of extra-linguistic communicative systems in interaction is also discussed. The data collection phase of this study is subsequently described, including details of both how storytelling sequences were obtained and who were the participants involved. For readers with some knowledge of Spanish, a discussion of some of the distinguishing features of Venezuelan Spanish, the data language of the two storytelling events is presented, followed by the case-study approach pursued in this study.

2.2 Conversation Analysis

Within the area of oral narrative analysis, the term 'interactional storytelling' distinguishes socio-interactional approaches to narrative that focus on how stories are produced in everyday interaction and what social functions these tellings carry out. These interactional accounts of storytelling, including most notably research by Sacks (1974), Jefferson (1978), Goodwin (1981), Schiffrin (1984), Tannen (1984), Polanyi (1981), Mandelbaum (1987), and Ochs (1992, 1997) are largely grounded in the research of Conversation Analysis (CA). CA is a highly empirical approach to the analysis of talk that attempts to identify the structural elements of conversation and how speakers employ these structures to carry out a wide range of interactional tasks, such as greetings. As an example, a greeting sequence, represented in (2.1), is produced as a sequentially organized initiation/response pair, in which an initial speaker greets someone in a first turn at talk and the recipient greets the initial speaker in a second turn at talk.

(2.1) Greeting Sequence

1 A: Hi.

2 B: Hello.

CA researchers have demonstrated that these initiation/response 'adjacency pairs' are one of the fundamental structural organizations of talk, constituting the primary means through which individuals carry out action in interaction.

2.2.1 Adjacency Pairs

Adjacency pairs are typical of many interactional tasks, such as asking questions (2.2) and making offers (2.3). The initial speaker initiates an interactional sequence with a 'first pair part' that is completed by the second speaker with a 'second pair part.'

(2.2) Question/answer adjacency pair

A: What's the name of that color?

B: Blue

(Merritt, 1982:235)

(2.3) Offer/acceptance adjacency pair

A: How about carrots?

B: Yeah

(Merritt, 1982:234)

CA describes the adjacency pair's first and second pair parts as bound by a relationship of 'conditional relevance.' The production of the first pair part in these adjacency pairs projects and makes the second pair part predictable.

This focus on the interactive execution of communicative acts allows for the description of larger interactional sequences, such as hypothetical example (2.4), in which B inserts an intervening adjacency pair sequence in lines 2 and 3 to resolve a problem in understanding. Example (2.4) is accordingly a question-and-answer adjacency pair sequence with an insertion question-and-answer sequence.

(2.4) Extended Interactional Sequence

1	A:	¿Qué te dijo?
		What did he tell you?
2	B:	¿Cómo?
		What?
3	A:	¿Qué te dijo Pablo?
		What did Pablo tell you?
4	B:	Que no iba a venir.
		That he wasn't coming.

2.2.2 The Turn-Taking System

CA allows for the description of how speakers carry out such interactional tasks as alternating in the speaking role. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) describe the turn-taking system as composed of both 'turn-construction units' and 'turn-allocation rules.' Turn construction units (TCU) are the minimal units of talk that may constitute a complete turn at talk. Though comparable to the 'utterance' in linguistic analyses, TCUs are not constrained by linguistic-specific criteria, such as syntactic completeness. As such they may vary from fully-developed sentences, as in B's initial turn in (2.5), to minimal paralinguistic responses, as in M's response (see Section 2.2.5 for a description of CA transcription notation used in [2.5].

(2.5) Turn-Taking Sequence

B: si tú quieres ir al seminario como stá diciendo (1.0) yo te voy a apoyar.

if you want to go to the seminary like you are saying (1.0) I'm going to support you.

M: mmhm

mmhm

TCUs are described as 'projectable' or, in other words, they contain syntactic, semantic and prosodic features that allow recipients to project when they are approaching completion. The projectability of TCU's allows recipients to anticipate when the present speaker may give up the floor and make relevant a new speaker. By anticipating these 'transition relevance spaces,' next speakers can avoid speaking in overlap with the present speaker or leaving a significant gap between speakers.

Turn allocation rules describe how participants select the next speaker at transition relevance spaces, and are summarized as follows:

(1) The current speaker may select the next speaker, providing the selected speaker with both the right and the obligation to speak at the transition relevance space;
(2) If the current speaker does not select next speaker, on reaching a transition relevance place:
    (a) another participant may self-select to speak next; or
    (b) if no other participant self-selects, the current speaker may continue to talk.

These rules account for how conversationalists are able to alternate in turns at talk as well as potential turn-taking problems successfully. In example (2.6), taken from the same corpus as "El Convento" and "La Buseta", for example, Chiri effectively self-selects in line 2 in application of rule (2a), while the application of this same rule in lines 3 and 4 produces talk in overlap, as indicated by brackets ([). When the current speaker does not explicitly select the next speaker, more than one aspirant may self select, producing talk in overlap. In application of another set of interactional principles, conversationalists typically resolve talk in overlap when either one of the speakers drops out, as Lilibeth does in line 4 on completing her TCU, or following a struggle for the floor with participants speaking increasingly louder to be heard over the other.

(2.6) Turn-Taking Sequence

1	Dyanna:	simplemente no aprende chama
		He just doesn't learn girl
		(.)
2	Chiri:	si aprendo
		yes I learn

3	Dyanna:	[una gente aprende mire….
		[some people learn look…
		[
4	Lilibeth:	[no aprende.
		[he doesn't learn.

2.2.3 Repair

CA similarly accounts for the recurrent and predictable ways in which conversationalists repair 'problems.' As opposed to the notion of 'correction,' typically associated with 'errors' and 'mistakes,' the repair system is mobilized to resolve anything participants regard as problematic or troublesome. Speakers may initiate repair on their own speech, as in (2.7), in which Chiri replaces *cuando* with *de qué monto*.

(2.7) Repair Sequence

Chiri	cuando – cua – de qué monto tiene el san
Chiri:	*when – whe – how much is the 'san'*[2]

[2] As explained by participants, a *san* is a financial arrangement in which participants save up money by contributing a set sum each month, the bulk of which is alternately given to individual participants.

Alternatively, recipients may initiate repair on the previous speaker's turn at talk, as in (2.8) from Schegloff *et al* (1977). In this example, in overlap with Ellen's imitation of the sound of the birds, Bill repairs Ben's assertion that the birds are pigeons and, instead, describes them as quail.

(2.8) Other-Initiated Repair Sequence

Ben: Lissena *pi*geons.

(0.7)

Ellen: Coo-coo::: coo:::

[

Bill: Quail, I think.

(Schegloff *et al*. 1977:378)

While both self- and other-initiated repair accomplish the same function of correcting some perceived error, Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sacks (1977) have identified a significant interactional preference for self-initiated repair. This preference accounts for both why other parties typically withhold repair until the present speaker is finished and why there are frequent uptake delays produced by next speakers following a potentially problematic turn, as seen in (2.6) above. By

withholding repair, recipients defer to the right of the speakers of record to correct their own speech.

2.2.4 Conversation Analysis Methodology

CA is a practical description of the organization of talk in interaction based on the collection, transcription, and analysis of 'naturally occurring' interactional events. Analysts first collect examples of interactional events. Where initially these collections were carried out via audio recordings of telephone conversations, CA has increasingly turned to the analysis of video-taped interactions. In collecting their data, the analysts' goal is to obtain the most natural representations of interaction possible.

These interactional events are in turn transcribed in their smallest detail. As may be seen in (2.9), taken from a previous study by the current investigator, CA is not interested strictly in <u>what</u> individuals say but rather <u>how</u> they say it.

(2.9) Sequence containing paralinguistic markers

1	A:	Encuentro que tienes que hablar con ellos.
	A:	*I think you have to speak with them.*
2		(1.4)

3 B: .hhh hhh es que -- sa -- estaba pensando en eso...

B: .hhh hhh it's that – you kno – I was thinking about that

While frequently not perceived by participants as forming part of the 'message,' paralinguistic elements, like the uptake delays, breath markers, and cut-offs found in line 3 of (2.9), play an important role in signaling the speaker's communicative intent. Consequently, the analyst of talk requires a transcription system capable of representing these elements. This study follows CA convention in using Jefferson's transcription notation as found in Atkinson & Heritage (1984). These notations are additionally listed in Appendix C.

The use of CA's transcription notation has several methodological advantages. First, the transcription encourages the researcher to consider the potential communicative value of production elements that might otherwise be overlooked. Secondly, in published form, it provides the reader with access to the raw data upon which the researcher's findings are based. The readers are empowered to come to their own conclusions regarding the data. In response to previous investigative methodologies, frequently dependent upon the researchers' or informants' intuitions, this highly empirical methodology was designed to describe talk in interaction as it may demonstrably be seen to occur.

Finally, following transcription, CA analysts examine the structural organization of communicative events to determine the mechanisms through which they are manifested. The analysts do not approach the data with pre-conceived research questions. On the contrary, they avoid imposing their own understandings on the data by looking for novel sequences and then examining how these are realized. Corpus-based analyses, in turn, compare these interactional sequences to similar sequences found in other interactional events to describe the mechanisms through which conversation is carried out. Case-study analysis, by contrast, attempts to provide an accounting of the unique constellation of interactional mechanisms through which the data sequence is realized.

2.2.5 Talk as Social Action

The term "Conversation Analysis" is notably a misnomer because the characterization of this analytic framework in terms of 'conversation' suggests that CA, like other varieties of discourse analysis, is primarily interested in language. CA, in fact, has contributed significantly to our understanding of how language works by pointing out the fundamental role of the context of social action in determining the meaning of linguistic acts. "Six," in line 2 of hypothetical example (2.10) below, for example, may be understood as a time

reference, not because the recipient recovers a deep structure representation of this utterance as "It is six o'clock," but because this communicative act is understood in reference to the preceding question "What time is it?":

(2.10) Request for the time

1 A: What time is it?

2 B: Six.

As initially conceived, CA is a theory of social action. Rooted in sociology, CA allows its practitioners to describe in detail how individuals use talk to carry out discrete social acts such as greeting others and asking questions as already seen (2.1). As the most frequent form of social interaction, the detailed analysis of the structural organization of talk reveals the underlying mechanisms through which participants construct their social lives. For example, they may align themselves in a demonstration of common understanding or 'intersubjectivity,' which is "mutual understanding and coordination around a common activity" (Duranti, 1997:255), by closely linking their turns one to the next in a performance frequently associated with witty banter. The failure to link turns at talk, however, with the production of significant delays or 'gaps' between turns may be exploited to indicate some failure in intersubjectivity, whether as a

problem in understanding or as reluctance by the receiving participant to follow the course of action projected by the initial speaker. In (2.9) above, for example, B marks her reluctance to follow A's suggestion with a significant (1.4) second uptake delay and a subsequent series of turn-initial disfluency markers, including audible in- and outbreaths and cut-offs.

2.3 Extra-Linguistic Communicative Systems

Conversation Analysis, as previously noted, was originally elaborated using data from telephone conversations. Consequently, its transcription notations and early core analytic concepts reflected the limitations of this communicative medium by placing emphasis principally on linguistic and paralinguistic communicative displays. The increasing application of video-recording to the analysis of interaction, however, has compelled researchers to recognize the communicative functions of extra-linguistic communicative displays, including gesture, gaze, posture, and the use of physical artifacts. These extra-linguistic communicative displays, which play a significant role in the production of "El Convento" and "La Buseta," are briefly outlined here.

While language plays a central role in human communication, it is by no means the only system at our disposition. People frequently make use of their

hands, gaze, body position, and any objects at hand to convey meanings. These messages may be iconic, as gestures like the waving of a hand to say "hello" or nodding of the head to say "yes." Extra-linguistic communicative displays, however, may play a regulatory role of creating a context of interpretation for accompanying linguistically encoded messages. In particular, the role of gaze and postural orientation is examined.

Researchers in human interaction (Goffman, 1963; Kendon, 1967; Duncan & Fiske, 1977, 1985; Goodwin, 1979, 1981; Denny, 1985) have noted that outside of its role in a perceptual system, sight or gaze plays a significant interactional role in how individuals organize their participation. Goffman (1963) has argued that individuals use gaze to establish and maintain interaction. By allowing their eye to be caught, individuals potentially signal their willingness to enter into social interaction. Within interaction, individuals position themselves in "an eye-to-eye ecological huddle," allowing participants to "monitor another's mutual perceivings" maximally (Goffman, 1963:95). Intermittent mutual glances, in turn, demonstrate participants' ongoing orientation to the social encounter and interaction's interest.[3] By contrast, participants may withdraw gaze to signal their desire to close interaction.

[3]Goffman is here primarily interested in establishing the micro-analytic analysis of social interaction, the 'interaction order,' as a viable focus of investigation in opposition to a generalized sociological emphasis on macro-analytic phenomena. Therefore, his observations on gaze underline the cohesive function of gaze as a global index of social interaction.

Gaze and postural orientation also play a role in turn-taking. Conversation analysts have noted gaze may be used to select the next speaker and to enable the split-second turn alternations discussed above. Duncan & Fiske (1977; 1985) and Denny (1985) argue speakers may signal the arrival of a transition relevance place by turning their gaze to recipients. In multi-party interactions, gaze may be used to select the expected respondent. Kendon (1967) argues in a more elaborate analysis that speakers exploit both their gaze and postural organization to take and maintain the floor. He notes a general tendency for speakers to shift their gaze and postural orientation away from recipients at the initiation of multiple-utterance turns. While turn-initial gaze aversion may serve as a means to reduce external stimuli and allow the cognitive activity necessary for an extended turn at talk, conventionally it may also signal the speaker's intent to assume and hold the floor, forestalling any recipient action at this point. Turn finally, speakers shift their gaze and postural orientation back to the recipient to signal the relevance of a response.

As predicted by Goffman's research above, recipients' gaze often signals a stance of 'recipiency.' Goodwin (1979, 1981) argues as a general rule "When speakers gaze at a recipient that recipient should be gazing at him" (p. 230). This observation makes orderly a series of interactional details, including speaker

phrasal breaks, pauses and restarts, addressee backchannels, nods, and other physical attention displays. When the speakers locate a violation to the previous rule, they may produce a series of apparent production errors to draw the recipient's gaze. Addressees likewise produce vocal and non-vocal attention displays when their gaze is otherwise occupied, as in task-based interaction.

Section 2.4 addresses the case-study approach to conversational storytelling.

2.4 A Case-Study Approach to Conversational Storytelling

As previously stated, this investigation presents a case-study analysis of interactional storytelling through a detailed examination of two unique storytelling events, "El Convento" and "La Buseta." The analysis of conversational storytelling through the examination of just two storytelling events, however, poses methodological difficulties. Such a limited data sample cannot support broad claims about how individuals tell stories and the functions these stories serve. The goal of this study, however, is not to provide an exhaustive account of storytelling but rather to exemplify one particular, previously-undocumented storytelling strategy and to situated this storytelling organization in relation to other recent developments in the analysis of

interactional storytelling. The intent of this study it to contribute to recent advances in storytelling analyses through a dynamic demonstration of their organizations and functions. In his most recent work on oral narrative research, Labov (1997) supports such an approach when he writes:

> "The discussion of narrative and other speech events at the discourse level rarely allows us to prove anything. It is essentially a hermeneutic study, in which continual engagement with the discourse as it was delivered gains entrance to the perspective of the speaker and the audience, tracing the transfer of information and experience in a way that deepens our own understandings of what language and social life are all about." (p. 396)

This case-study analysis attempts to move beyond analyses of oral narrative based on what we think storytelling is and how and why we tell stories to an empirically grounded recognition of the wide variation in how stories are told and the functions these storytelling events serve.

At the same time, this case-study analysis makes a significant contribution to the field of Conversation Analysis by providing an example of how CA's research methodologies may be applied to Spanish. While Conversation Analysis has been increasingly applied to many fields within the social sciences, relatively little research has been carried out in Conversation Analysis in languages outside of English. Spanish in particular is underrepresented in conversation analytic research. One of the goals of this study is to address this discrepancy by

providing a detailed demonstration of how Conversation Analysis may be profitably applied to the analysis of Spanish talk. It is hoped that this demonstration will serve as an impetus to other researchers of Spanish to focus their attention on the interactional features of Spanish conversation.

This case-study analysis, however, is not a culturally-based analysis of storytelling, like those found in Blum-Kulka's (1993) contrasting analyses of the storytelling practices of American and Israeli families and Tannen's (1981) description of New York Jewish storytelling. On the contrary, this analysis focuses on the universal features of storytelling – its organization and its functions. While "El Convento" and "La Buseta" certainly might be analyzed in terms of how Venezuelans tell stories, at this date there exists no corpus of Venezuelan storytelling against which these storytelling events may be compared. In particular, this study does not advance the theory that only Venezuelans make use of this challenge-sequence strategy to tell their stories. English-speaking audiences who have seen previous versions of this research have frequently commented that they tell stories in the same fashion. As discussed further in Chapter 7, future research may focus its attention on how Venezuelans in particular tell a story.

While Venezuelan Spanish is not the emphasis of this study, readers may want to attribute significance to some of the distinguishing features of the Spanish

in these narrative sequences, for this reason a background description of this dialect is provided in the following section.

2.5 Venezuelan Spanish

Venezuela lies on two dialectical zones traditionally called *tierras bajas* 'lowlands' and *tierras altas* 'highlands.' In phonetic material, Rosenblat (1962:96) has observed '*las tierras altas se comen las vocales, las tierras bajas se comen las consonantes*' ('in the highlands vowels are swallowed, in the lowlands consonants are swallowed'). Highland Spanish throughout South America is considered relatively conservative in its maintenance of syllable-final consonants, including the sibilant /s/ (*vacas* 'cows) and nasal /n/ (*camión* 'truck'), intervocalic occlusives (/b/ /d/ /g/), and the maintenance of the lateral palatal /ʎ/ (*calle* /kaʎe/ 'street') in the face of generalized weakening to a palatal fricative /y/ (*calle* /kaye/) in most parts of the Spanish-speaking world. By contrast, non-tonic vowels are frequently reduced or elided (*entonces* /entons/ 'then,' *pues* /ps/ 'well'). Lowland Spanish, on the contrary, tends to weaken or elide these same consonants while maintaining vowel quality. Most notable among these lowland phenomena is the aspiration of syllable final /s/, which reaches near complete

deletion in some regions, and the loss of syllable-final nasals (/n/ and /m/) with associated nasalization of the preceding vowel (*entonces* /entõce/ 'then').

Mérida sits in the Andes in the highest region in Venezuela and traditionally exhibits those characteristics associated with Highland speech. This picture is somewhat complicated, however, by the presence of two competing prestige dialects in the bordering regions. The increasing presence of Colombian migrant workers reinforces Highland speech patterns, while the importance of Caracas as the nation's capital and cultural center, along with its dominance in the mass media, has heightened the use of lowland speech patterns, including a significant rise in syllable-final /s/ aspiration and deletion. The individual participants in this study seem to use a varying degree of baseline aspiration. The /s/ retention appears to be associated with more formal registers.

In morphology, Venezuela has two overlapping regions of *voseo* usage. *Vos* is the second person singular personal pronoun of solidarity, and not the formal second person pronoun one might presuppose given its similarity to *vous* in the *Tu/Vous* distinction. In the region centered around Maracaibo on the western coast, *voseo* is generalized and exhibits the same verbal desinences, *–áis*, *-éis* and *–ís*, as the second person plural informal *vosotros* of Peninsular Spanish (i.e. *habláis*, *coméis*, *escribís*). *Voseo* is also used in and around the states of Mérida and Táchira, where the verbal desinences are *–ás*, *-és* and *–ís*. Lipski

(1994:351) notes that *vos* is generally reserved for social inferiors and children, which may explain its almost complete absence from this corpus. He goes on to say, however, that the people of Mérida use the formal singular pronoun *usted* almost categorically with no use of the standard informal pronoun *tú*. The use of *usted* is extremely frequent in this corpus, and the reader should be advised that it does not necessarily encode perceived social distance nor power differences, since even family pets receive this treatment.

Finally, in lexical terms, the transcripts presented here contain many regionalisms and English borrowings. Some readers may be unfamiliar with terms such as *vaina* 'thing' (literally 'bean pod' or 'scabbard'), *chamo/a* 'boy/girl,' which is usually used as either a turn-initial vocative element or turn-final evaluative display, similar to what Schegloff (1996) calls a post completion stance marker, *arrecho* 'mad/of importance,' and *coroto* 'thing.' While these terms individually are used across all socioeconomic and generational groups, their predominance in these transcripts seems to index the speech of young urban Venezuelans. The use of English borrowings may be in part a reflection of Venezuela's history. Following the discovery of oil at the beginning of the twentieth century, Venezuela experienced a large influx of American oil companies. Many Venezuelans abandoned farming to work in the oil refineries in close proximity with English-speaking workers. This may explain the relatively

high percentage of Anglicisms in their vocabulary, including *huachiman* 'watchman' and *ful* 'full.'

Chapter 3 to follow provides an outline of previous oral narrative research.

Chapter 3

Storytelling: Form and Function

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an introduction to oral narrative research. 'Narrative' is characterized broadly in terms of its chronological and evaluative dimensions before an examination of oral storytelling in particular. Previous oral narrative research is discussed in terms of the three principal approaches to analysis: text-based; monologic; and interactional accounts. The socio-interactional functions of storytelling are subsequently examined, followed by an analysis of the evaluative techniques of storytelling.

3.2 What is Narrative?

While most readily associated with its literary manifestations, such as novels and short stories, the term 'narrative' is applied widely in the literature from relatively self-evident narrative forms, including novels and plays, to less obvious varieties, including dance, music, painting, and news casting. Consequently, any attempt to provide a single definition of narrative is problematic. In all its manifestations, however, narrative may generally be described as a mechanism for representing the passage of time from a particular point of view. The two central elements of this definition, the chronological and evaluative dimensions, are described in Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2.

3.2.1 The Chronological Dimension

All forms of narrative share a common function of depicting a temporal transition from one state of affairs to another (Ochs, 1997:189). By way of a familiar example, the story of the "Three Little Pigs" describes the transition from an initial state ("There were three little pigs"), through successive intermediary stages ("the first little pig built a house of hay," "the second little pig built a house of twigs," etc.) to a final state ("And they all lived happily ever after"). Ricoeur (1988) refers to this essential narrative function as the 'chronological dimension.'

While narrative may depict past events, as in historical accounts and personal anecdotes, it may equally represent present, future and hypothetical time. Sportscasting, for example, narrates the passage of time in the present, while less obvious forms of narrative, including plans and agendas, narrate future events. Fiction, in turn, represents the passage of hypothetical time.

How the chronological dimension is encoded in practice depends on the narrative genre in question. A cartoon strip, for example, encodes the passage of time in successive cartoon frames. Michelangelo's painting of the Sistine Chapel, by contrast, depicts the passage of time spatially, from God's creation of the universe to the creation of the sun and the moon, through the situation of action in separate visual fields. Language in particular represents the passage of time through the presentation of successive, punctual, non-iterative 'event clauses' (Polanyi, 1985), as in the Beatle lyric "Woke up, fell out of bed, ran a comb across my head" (Beatles, *A Day in the Life*), or the Latin quote, *veni, vidi, vici* 'I came, I saw, I conquered.' Consistent with this chronological dimension of narrative, Labov & Waletzky (1968) describe one form of storytelling, the narrative of personal experience, as depicting the passage of time by matching a sequence of verbal clauses to the sequence of actual real world events represented.

3.2.2 The Evaluative Dimension

Narrative is necessarily an interpretive event. Even the most ostensibly objective narrative forms, including reports and historical narratives, call upon their narrators to select and organize the narrative's pertinent elements departing from the narrator's interpretive understanding of what they are describing. The same set of events, like Cortez' exploration of Mexico, may be alternately narrated as 'explorers looking for gold' and 'the arrival of gods astride mighty beasts' depending on the particular narrator's perspective. Goffman (1974) accordingly observes:

> A tale or anecdote, that is, a replaying, is not merely any reporting of a past event. In the fullest sense, it is such a statement couched from the personal perspective of an actual or potential participant who is located so that some temporal, dramatic development of the reported event proceeds from that starting event. (….) A replaying, in brief, recounts a personal experience, not merely reports on an event. (1974:504)

This 'evaluative dimension' of narrative has two facets. First, narrative may be characterized in cognitive terms as a sense-making activity through which its narrator selects, presents, organizes, and juxtaposes narrative elements to interpret a set of events. The narrator exploits narrative to animate, juxtapose, and otherwise organize individuals, objects, scenes, and cognitive states to come to

some understanding of an unusual event, some "key event that disrupts the equilibrium of ordinary, expected circumstances" (Ochs, 1997:197), varyingly referred to as the 'complication' (Aristotle, 1962), 'trouble' (Burke, 1962), 'inciting event' (Sharff, 1982), or here the 'central narrative event.' Narrative allows its narrator to package experience in cognitively and affectively coherent ways (Blum-Kulka, 1993) while at once testing the limits between the ordinary and the extraordinary. It is this cognitive, sense-making function of narrative that Bruner (1990) addresses when he characterizes narrative as the basic instrument of folk psychology for "render[ing] the exceptional comprehensible" (p. 52).

Evaluation, however, has a social dimension. While narrative forms such as reports, agendas, and plans may narrate commonplace, everyday events, narratives typically recount noteworthy events that justify the demands they make on the recipient's time. Pointless stories run the risk of being received by the recipient with a "So what?" (Labov, 1972). The evaluative dimension of narrative is, in this sense, an obligation on the part of narrators to explain to their recipient(s) why they consider the narrative's described events to be particularly noteworthy. Narrators, consequently, pursue a series of evaluative strategies designed to indicate their point. Oral narrative evaluative strategies are discussed in Section 3.5.

In sum, narrative is a mechanism for representing the passage of time from a distinctive evaluative perspective. Through narrative, narrators both represent and interpret a set of events. To this point, narrative has been described in general terms compatible with all its varying manifestations. The following sections, however, specifically address oral narratives or storytelling. Section 3.3 describes previous approaches to oral storytelling.

3.3 Approaches to Oral Storytelling

As mentioned in the introduction to this study, the analysis of oral stories has evolved. This evolution may be subdivided into three distinctive phases, including 'textual analyses,' 'monologic accounts,' and 'interactional approaches.' The earliest of these approaches, textual analyses, is consistent with a literary-based notion of stories as the oral equivalent of narrative texts. Monologic accounts, by contrast, are situated analyses of storytelling events that recognize the role of the teller in producing the story. Interactional approaches finally recognize the role of both the teller and recipient in producing the storytelling event as well as the socio-interactional functions of storytelling. This set of classifications is intended to capture the general trends in the analysis of oral storytelling. Discrete analyses, however, may combine elements of more than one of these approaches,

as occurs in Labov's analysis of "The Cigarette." Here Labov treats this storytelling event as a narrative text while at once recognizing the role of the teller or narrator in producing the telling.

Each of these approaches is discussed in greater detail, beginning with textual analyses.

3.3.1 Textual Analyses

Early approaches to the analysis of oral narratives, including research by 'story grammarians' in folklore and artificial intelligence, typically addressed exclusively the thematic content of oral narrative events as self-contained, narrative texts. As in literary analyses, from which this research draws both concepts and terminology (Norrick, 2000), textual analyses attempted to identify the fundamental constituent elements of narrative in oral storytelling.

'Story grammarians' (Mandler & Johnson, 1977; Mandler, 1979; Stein & Glenn, 1979; Stein & Policastro, 1984), attempted to identify the fundamental constituent elements of oral narratives to describe how these elements are organized in a narrative syntax. As in syntactic analyses, the structural organization of narrative elements is described as forming a 'story grammar.' Stein and Glenn (1979), for example, described stories as composed of four constituent elements: (a) a setting; either (b) an initiating event or (c) an internal

response; (d) an overt attempt; and (e) a consequence. Mandler and Johnson (1977), by contrast, distinguished goal-oriented stories like those described by Stein and Glenn, from non-goal-oriented stories. Non-goal-oriented stories, they assert, are structurally organized as a four-element construction, consisting of: (a) a setting; (b) a beginning; (c) a simple reaction (either emotional reaction or unplanned action); and (d) an ending. As in a syntactic organization, these constituent elements are sequentially organized with the exception of setting. While setting typically occurs story-initially, tellers may elaborate the narrative's relevant setting across the trajectory of the story's telling. As in formal syntactic models, with which this approach is closely related, knowledge of narrative constituent elements and their ordering forms part of what might be called the speaker's 'narrative competence.'

Similarly, early approaches to oral narrative analysis in folklore (Malinowski, 1926; Propp, 1968; Lévi-Strauss, 1955, 1979; Campbell, 1968) focused upon the identification and organization of constituent elements of orally-produced myths and folktales. Campbell (1968) describes myths as a structurally organized series of generic thematic elements referred to as 'monomyths,' including the hero's 'separation or departure,' 'trials and victories of initiation,' and 'return and reintegration with society.' Propp (1968) and Lévi-Strauss (1955)

similarly analyzed myths as structurally organized as a series of 'mythemes' bound by 'relations' (1955:210).

Researchers in artificial intelligence (AI) (Minsky, 1975; Schank & Abelson, 1976; Rumelhart, 1975; Schank, 1982), likewise examined the textual features of oral narratives in an attempt to identify their basic constituent elements or 'macrostructures.' As in the 'story grammarian' approach, macrostructures are described as organized by 'macrorules.' From a distinctly cognitivist perspective, it is argued that these elements allow researchers a window upon the individual's basic cognitive processes. Reminiscent of Bruner's (1990) description of storytelling as the basic tool of folk psychology for rendering the exceptional comprehensible, researchers in AI describe narrative as representing the basic mental 'scripts' or 'schemas' through which individuals understand the world about them. Accordingly, Polanyi (1981) posits that the analysis of narratives may unveil the basic repertoire of cognitive strategies.

Textual analyses, in sum, attempted to identify the basic constituent elements of oral narratives. As in literary analyses, this research deals exclusively with the thematic content of the telling. No consideration is given to how and why the narrative sequence was produced. As such, textual analyses are essentially context-free analyses of oral narratives as static narrative texts. Subsequent oral narrative research, however, revealed increasingly contextualized analyses of how

storytelling events are dynamically produced and what role its participants play. Monologic accounts, in particular, analyze the role of the teller presenting the narrative sequence.

3.3.2 Monologic Analyses

Monologic analyses, including the research of Labov & Waletzky (1967, 1968, 1972) and 'performance' models of storytelling (Bauman, 1975, 1977, 1986; Bauman & Briggs, 1990, 1992; Palmer & Jankowiak, 1996; Sherzer, 1982), highlight the role of the teller in producing the storytelling event.

Perhaps most representative of this monologic perspective is the already cited research of Labov and Waletzky (1967, 1968; also Labov, 1972). As part of their larger defense of the expressivity of Black English vernacular, Labov and Waletzky studied the oral narrative performances of black inner-city youths in New York. As in textual analyses, Labov and Waletzky identify six constituent elements of oral narratives: (1) the abstract ("My brother put a knife in my head"); (2) orientation ("This was just a few days after my father died"); (3) complicating action ("I twisted his arm up behind him.."); (4) evaluation ("Ain't that a bitch?"); (5) result or resolution ("After all that I gave the dude the cigarette, after all that"); and (6) coda ("And that was that"). As in the story grammarian approach, these

elements are, in turn, described as forming "invariant structural units represented by a variety of superficial forms" (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:1).

What distinguishes Labov and Waletzky's analyses of oral narratives from textual accounts, however, is their analysis of actual storytelling events. In these analyses Labov and Waletzky highlight the teller's situated role in producing the storytelling event. In their 'fear of death' stories, narrators are described as more or less artfully using a series of evaluative strategies, including external evaluation, embedding of evaluation, evaluative actions, and evaluation by suspension of action, to produce a compelling story.

Performance models of storytelling, elaborated in the field of linguistic anthropology (Bauman,1975, 1977, 1986; Bauman & Briggs, 1990, 1992; Palmer & Jankowiak, 1996; Sherzer, 1982), similarly produced situated analyses of actual storytelling events that highlight the role of the narrator in producing the telling. Narrators are described as signaling the production of a storytelling event to recipients by keying their talk as a form of 'performance,' "an interpretative frame within which the messages being communicated are to be understood" (Bauman, 1975:192). By mobilizing a set of culture-specific and conventional devices, including special codes such as archaic or esoteric language, special formulae, figurative language like metaphor, formal stylistic devices like rhyme, vowel harmony, etc., and special prosodic patterns like tempo, stress, or pitch, the teller

invokes a performance frame that informs the recipient's interpretation of the speaker's speech. Like Gumperz's (1982) 'contextualization cues,' performance markers key a metacommunicative interpretative frame that guides the audience's understanding of the event. In turn, the performance frame invokes a set of culture-specific expectations about what constitutes a 'competent' performance and the audience's role in receiving the telling.

Like textual analyses before them, monologic accounts of storytelling have been criticized. Interactional accounts of storytelling, in particular, have criticized monologic analyses for failing to recognize the active role of the recipient in producing the storytelling event. In her analysis of performance models of storytelling, Mandelbaum (1987) notes "This work shows a concern for the narrative as teller's performance for an audience. Recipient's work is to understand what the teller is keying or displaying, rather than to participate in its creation" (p. 47). As previously noted in Chapter 1, Labov and Waletzky (1967, 1968) attempt to eliminate the recipient's role methodologically when they argue that the methodological advantage of danger of death stories is that the teller, temporarily overcome with a reliving of the dramatic events, forgets about the presence of the recipient. The tellers are accordingly able to develop their narrative sequence 'naturally.' While this methodology is designed to avoid the 'observer's paradox,' or the unnatural influence of the recipient/researcher on the

story's production, it presumes that oral narrative productions are typically not affected significantly by the recipient. Interactional accounts, by contrast, attribute a significant role to recipients in providing for, supporting, and receiving storytelling events. Schegloff (2000) in particular argues that Labov and Waletzky's research inaccurately represents the structural organization of oral narrative events precisely because they attempted to eliminate the recipient's influence on the development of storytelling events. Schegloff notes story-final coda segments, such as "And that was that," indeed are not common in situated storytelling events except where the recipient fails to provide the teller with an appropriate response.

Monologic analyses similarly have been criticized for focusing their attention on a relatively narrow range of highly idealized, self-contained, teller-dominated oral narrative events (Ervin-Tripp & Küntay, 1997; Norrick, 2000). By restricting their analyses to self-evident, oral narrative events that correspond well with popular conceptions of storytelling, these researchers have created an account of oral narrative more compatible with metapragmatic notions of what we think storytelling is and how it is produced than what more frequently occurs in situated interaction. Ervin-Tripp and Küntay (1997), for example, argue that, rather than representing naturalistic storytelling events, Labov & Waletzky's (1968) danger-of-death stories represent highly polished narrative sequences. As a particularly

dramatic narrative topic, likely told many times before and forming part of the narrator's repertoire of attention-grabbing stories, the narrator has had the opportunity to construct these tellings to conform with social conceptions of what constitutes a compelling story. The emphasis of performance models of storytelling on well-organized, formal storytelling events makes its findings particularly representative of idealized forms of storytelling (Mandelbaum, 1987; Norrick, 2000).

The tendency to focus on teller-centered storytelling events has in turn caused researchers to describe oral narratives as assuming a limited range of structural organizations. Oral narratives are described as an extended monologue in which the tellers develop their narrative. While the internal structural organization of the narrative varies, the narrative is interactionally produced as a single extended turn at talk. Socio-interactional accounts of storytelling, by contrast, describe storytelling as an interactive event in which both tellers and recipients alternate in the speaking role to produce the narrative sequence. The interactional organization of the storytelling event may assume a wide range of interactional organizations in which tellers and recipients play distinctive roles in producing the telling.

Finally, monologic accounts of storytelling have been criticized for focusing almost exclusively on storytelling as a form of entertainment. In support

of the expressivity of Black English vernacular, Labov & Waletzky (1972) emphasize the entertainment value of their oral narrative sequence with such comments as "This is one of three fight stories told by Larry which match in verbal skill his outstanding performance in argument, ritual insults, and other speech events of the black vernacular culture," "John L. struck us immediately as a gifted story teller" (p. 358) and "It should be emphasized that this technique is used only by older, highly skilled narrators from traditionally working-class backgrounds" (p. 373). Performance models, similarly, highlight the entertainment value of oral narratives by describing the performance frame as invoking a cultural aesthetic against which the audience will judge the narrator's performance. By contrast, interactional accounts of storytelling, as further discussed in Section 3.3.3, describe storytelling as performing a wide range of socio-interactional functions outside of serving as a form of entertainment.

Notably, those features of textual and monologic accounts of storytelling singled out for criticism are consistent with a literary-based notion of narrative. As in a literary analysis, narrative content is frequently treated as a static, context-free text like stories found in books. Similarly, in situated analyses the teller is treated as an 'author' or 'narrator' exclusively responsible for producing the oral narrative event. Finally, as in a novel, the storytelling is judged as an artistic performance designed for the entertainment of its audience. These literacy-

induced notions of storytelling are common in how storytelling is discussed, as is reflected in such utterances as "Bob told me this great one about the time he…" where Bob is characterized as being centrally responsible for imparting an entertaining, pre-established story. Textual and monologic accounts of oral narratives are, in short, highly representative of what one thinks storytelling is and how one carries it out. By contrast, based on the detailed analysis of a wide range of actual oral narrative events, interactional accounts of storytelling have demonstrated that the analyses of oral narrative events presented by previous researchers are frequently not representative of how individuals actually tell stories in situated interaction. Storytelling events, these researchers point out, are frequently highly interactive interactional events, assuming a wide range of structural organizations, in which participants construct the telling through both linguistic and extra-linguistic means in support of significant socio-interactional functions.

3.3.3 Interactional Analyses

More recently, oral narrative analysts have increasingly turned away from monologic accounts of oral narrative to focus on storytelling as an interactional event. Whereas monologic accounts approach storytelling as a linguistic narrative

event with significant performative functions, interactional accounts treat storytelling as a narrative, linguistic, social, and cognitive event. Bauman (1996) describes interactional storytelling accounts as more agent- and practice-centered analyses that emphasize individual agency and emergent aspects of production in the accomplishment of social life. This research traces its roots to Sacks's (1974) analysis of the course of a telling of a joke, in which Sacks demonstrated that, far from constituting a monologic event, the recipient plays a central role in bringing to the floor, sustaining and receiving the storytelling event.

Given the significance of Sacks's research, his findings are discussed here in some detail using an illustrative storytelling sequence (3.1), "Las Américas," taken from the same corpus as "El Convento" and "La Buseta." In this sequence the teller, Dyanna, recounts a recent incident in which Chiri, Dyanna's boyfriend (also present) was humiliated by a bus driver.

(3.1) **"Las Américas"**

1	Dyanna:	cha:ma ((negative tone))– (.) estamo allá en la parada
		gi:rl – (negative tone) (.) we're there at the bus stop
2		°verdad°?
		°right°?=

3 Lilibeth: =aha

=yeh

4 (.)

4 (.)

5 Dyanna: pasa un bus de esos de Mérida=

one of those buses from Mérida comes by=

6 Lilibeth: mha

mh[a

[

7 Dyanna: y Chiri le dice (0.2) señor denos la cola allí hasta

[and Chiri says to him (0.2) sir give us a lift up to

8 la América ((a local avenue))

8 Las Américas ((a local avenue))

9 Lilibeth: ((nod))

((nod))

10 (0.2)

10 (0.2)

11 Dyanna: y el tipo le dice <u>QUE NO</u> (1.0) °Chiri le tiende la puerta,

and the guy says <u>NO</u> (1.0) °Chiri opens the door for them,

12 se bajan todo lo pasajero,°

12 all of the passengers get off,°

13 Lilibeth: ha ha ha ha ha

ha ha ha ha [ha

[

14 Dyanna: y le vuelve a decir (0.3) °me va a dar la cola?°

[and he says again (0.3) °are you going to give me a lift?°

15 y el tipo no. po:rqué tiene Chiri que humillarse a la gente.

15 and the guy no. wh:y does Chiri have to humiliate

16 Lilibeth: f– hijo de puta. tonto ((directed at Chiri))

f– son of a bitch. idiot ((directed at Chiri))

17 Dyanna: ha?

ha?

18 Lilibeth: estúpido.

stupid.

Sacks describes storytelling events as being interactionally produced in a series of three serially ordered, constituted elements placed in adjacency to one another: the story preface; the telling; and the response sequence. Story prefaces

are designed to shut down the turn-taking system to provide the tellers with an uninterrupted, extended turn at talk for the purposes of producing their telling. As graphically represented in Figure (3.1) the prospective teller proposes or requests an opportunity in a minimal two-turn sequence for a telling in an initial turn ("first pair part"). It is then accepted or rejected in the following turn.

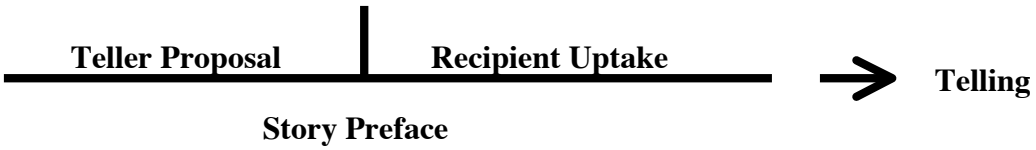

Figure (3.1) Story Preface Interactional Organization

As seen in "Las Américas," Dyanna executes the story preface sequence in lines 1 and 2, initially calling the recipient's attention with a vocative element ("cha:ma:") and subsequently providing the story's background setting ("estamo allá en la parada °verdad°?; *gi:rl ((negative tone))– (.) we're there at the bus stop °right°?)*, to signal her intention to tell a story. Lilibeth, the recipient, receives Dyanna's request for an opportunity for a telling with a paralinguistic uptake ("=aha"). Having received the recipient's permission for a telling, Dyanna thereupon begins her telling in line 5. Through this interactive story preface

sequence, participants shut down the turn taking system to provide an interactional space for the tellers to produce their telling.

While Sacks (1974) focuses his analysis of story prefaces on their interactional functions for suspending the turn taking system, he identifies other storytelling functions associated with the story preface. Story prefaces frequently contain evaluative information, like Dyanna's negative tone on the element '*cha:ma*' in line 1 of "Las Américas." These early evaluative displays in the story preface serve socio-interactional functions of signaling to the recipient the kind of evaluative response the teller would like to receive in the story-final response sequence. In "Las Américas" Dyanna's negative tone foreshadows the negative evaluative stance Dyanna will develop in the telling itself while giving the recipient early notice that the teller would like the recipient to respond in kind. Story prefaces frequently carry out functions like those attributed by Labov (1972) to 'abstracts' of providing the recipient with an early synopsis of events that facilitates the recipient's on-line comprehension.

In the telling sequence the teller develops the narrative sequence. Because Sacks is primarily interested in the interactional production of storytelling events as an interactional event, he does not address the internal structural organization of the telling sequence, as was previously done in both textual and monologic accounts. On the contrary, Sacks describes the recipient's crucial role in

supporting the teller's production of the telling sequence. In his view, recipients provide 'recipiency displays' over the course of the story's telling in the form of either linguistic or paralinguistic "backchannel" or "continuer markers." Schegloff (2000) defines continuers as interpolations such as "uh huh" and "mm hm" by which recipients demonstrate their understanding that the speaker is in the course of an extended turn at talk. In "Las Américas," for example, Lilibeth supports Dyanna's telling with a pair of paralinguistic continuers in lines 3 and 6 ("aha," "mha"). Physical recipiency displays may equally be exploited to support the speaker, as seen in Lilibeth's nod in line 9. Recipients may also support the teller's primary role by initiating repair on any element considered problematic, though no such incidences are seen in "Las Américas." as well as such physical embodiment displays as postural and gaze orientation toward the teller.

Lastly, the recipient receives the teller's story in the response sequence. While in propositional terms the story is functionally complete at the end of the telling sequence, in interactional terms the story is not 'successful' until evaluatively received by the recipient. The failure of the recipients to respond is itself repairable, as demonstrated by Schegloff's (2000) observation that the coda element (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; 1968) is actually an effort by the teller to elicit a recipient response in the response sequence. Tellers, in fact, guard against this possibility by embedding telling-terminal features, including the telling's thematic

integrity, dramatic prosodic features, and evaluative displays, to signal the coming relevance of recipient uptake. This behavior is evident in line 15 of "Las Américas" ("po:rqué tiene Chiri que humillarse a la gente" '*wh:y does Chiri have to humiliate himself to people*') where Dyanna marks her telling as complete. She demonstrates this through both the dramatic prosodic features on "po:rqué," with vowel lengthening and vocal stress, and the evaluative/resuming functions of this phrase. Lilibeth, in turn, receives the story and agrees with the proposed completeness of Dyanna's story by assuming the floor herself in line 16.

Sacks's (1974) analysis notably constitutes a significant break from monologic accounts of storytelling by demonstrating the crucial role played by the recipient in interactively bringing to the floor, sustaining, receiving, and ultimately closing out the storytelling event. While Sacks's analysis is notably carried out on the self-same, teller-centered oral narrative events favored by previous oral narrative researchers, subsequent interactional analyses have outlined a wide range of interactional storytelling organizations, including Mandelbaum's (1987) description of 'recipient-driven tellings,' in which participants play varying roles.

3.3.3.1 Recipient-Driven Tellings

Mandelbaum (1987) notes conversational storytelling events may assume still another interactional organization in which the recipient plays a cardinal role

in eliciting the narrative's content. In 'recipient-driven tellings,' such as (3.2) below, the recipient drives the telling forward by identifying something potentially 'tellable' in the previous speaker's talk and then requests its telling. B, in lines 48a and 49 of (3.2), for example, initiates A's telling of her experience playing basketball by requesting its telling in line 49. From here, the telling proceeds as a series of elicitation/response pairs in lines 50-51, 53-54, and 55-57.

(3.2) Recipient-Driven Telling

47	A:	I'm so:: ti:yid. I j's played ba:ske'ball
48		t'day since the firs' time since I wz a
48a[4]		freshm'n in hi:ghsch[ool.]
49	B:	[Ba::]sk(h)et=
50		=b(h)a(h)ll? (h)[(°Whe(h)re.)
		[(°Nnhnh hnh)
51	A:	[Yeah fuh like an hour
51a		enna ha:[lf.]
52	B:	[.hh]
53	B:	Where didju play ba:sk[etbaw.]
54	A:	[(The) gy:]:m.

[4] Nonconsecutive line numbering is as found in Mandelbaum's (1987) representation of this sequence.

55 B: In the gy:m? [(hh)

56 A: [Yea:h. Like grou(h)p therapy.

57 Uyh know [half the grou]p thet we had=

58 B: [Oh::.] .hh

59 A: =la:s' term wz there en we[jus'playing

59a around

(Mandelbaum, 1987)

Recipient-driven tellings are uniquely structurally organized as a series of elicitation/response pairs. Mandelbaum observes that this storytelling organization plays significant socio-interactional functions as a joint sense-making activity between the teller and recipient. In traditional teller-centered storytelling events, the tellers develop an evaluative perspective they subsequently submit for the recipient's interpretation in the response sequence. The recipient-driven telling, on the other hand, shows a highly interactive organization that allows both the teller and recipient to decide what the narrative's relevant narrative elements are and what evaluative significance they attribute to these events.

Following Mandelbaum's lead, still other oral narrative researchers have identified other less obvious forms of storytelling outside of the prototypical, well-developed monologic telling. Ervin-Tripp & Küntay (1997) have noted

interactional storytellings are frequently produced as fragmented "marginal narratives."

3.3.3.2 Marginal Narratives

As observed by Ervin-Tripp & Küntay (1997) the tendency to focus analytic attention on well-formed, self-evident story sequences with a readily identifiable protagonist and series of narrative events obscures the observation that oral narratives are frequently produced as ill-defined 'marginal narratives.' While well-defined, structurally regular, single-teller narratives are readily identified in accordance with narrative-internal criteria, marginal narratives are frequently "semantically and syntactically elliptical" (p. 138) narratives and depend upon their embedding context for comprehension. Ervin-Tripp & Küntay point out that the following narrative sequence (3.3) lacks (a) an animate protagonist, (b) a sequence of events, (c) temporal juncture, (d) temporal connectives, and (e) a conflict.

(3.3) Earthquake story[5]

(Albert and Ned are two brothers. Olga is Ned's friend, and Cynthia is her roommate.)

53 Al: you know that-

54 that *nice *glass *china *display case in our *dining room?

55 Ned: =in the *dining room=

56 Cyn: =o-o-oh=

57 Al: **trashed/

58 Cyn: =forget it/=

59 Ned: =*absolutely=trashed/

60 Al: whole thing a=bsolutely..yeah=

61 Ned: =*every *single bit= of *glass and

62 *pottery in the-

63 Olg: and *crystal?

64 Ned: *all the crystal.. *trashed/

65 Al: crystal

66 Ned: *everything ..*trashed/

67 Cyn: =o-o-oh my go-o-o-d=

[5] This sequence is transcribed and numbered as originally presented in Ervin-Tripp and Küntay (1997) using the transcription conventions of Gumperz and Berenz (1993): * is stress; = overlap=; == latched response; … pauses; ( ) seconds of pause; { } feature boundaries; / falling terminal juncture.

68 Al: =oh a er *antiques *genuine= *antiques

69 Ned: =and the *amount of *money= we have lost

70 is going to be **astronomical/

(Ervin-Tripp and Küntay, 1997:137)

Rather than constituting a self-contained narrative sequence, this fragmentary narrative sequence is rendered comprehensible by embedding discursive context in which participants are swapping stories about the effects of a recent earthquake. The animate protagonist, sequence of events, and temporal juncture are provided by the previously stated "there was an earthquake" in conjunction with the narrative events provided in the marginal narrative itself. Ervin-Tripp and Küntay's research demonstrates that rather than discrete, self-contained sequences, oral narratives are frequently context-dependent sequences whose meaning is derived from their placement in interaction.

3.3.3.3 Co-narration

Recipient-driven tellings and marginal tellings are demonstrative of the often overlooked ways in which individuals tell stories in interaction outside of the teller-dominated monologic storytelling event favored by previous oral narrative scholars. These researchers, however, have noted that in the continuum of

storytelling organizations, participants may assume varying roles in producing the storytelling event. As demonstrated in Mandelbaum's analysis of recipient-driven tellings, recipients may assume central roles in the story's production, often providing key narrative elements, directing the course of the telling and significantly contributing to the narrative evaluative stance. In her analysis of dinner-table talk, Ochs (1997) notes that in the conversation of intimates, the distinction between 'teller' and 'recipient' frequently breaks down. Participants are able to exploit their common knowledge of the narrative's setting, participants, and events to license their intervention in the telling, producing a fluid alternation of participants between telling and receiving the narrative. They do these alternations to such a degree that, from an analytic perspective, Ochs argues that the role of teller and recipient must be assigned on a turn-by-turn basis. In "The Detention Story" (3.4), for example, the course and interpretation of Lucy's story about why she believes her teacher is unfair are shaped by her mother, father and, most significantly, her little brother Chuck.

(3.4) "The Detention Story"

1	Lucy:	Mom?=
2	Mother:	=(and) she's a good person to know (too)
3		[

4 Lucy: (Just?) – I don't think

5 Mrs. um Andrews is being fair because um

6 Mother: ((high-pitched)) (?do you?)=

7 Father: =(about what)

8 [

9 Lucy When we were back at school um – this girl? –

10 she pulled um – Vicky's dress ((puts hand to knee)) 11

up t'here ((gestures with hand high on chest)) in

12 front of the boys

13 Mother: mhm?

14 Lucy: She only – all she did was get a day in detention

15 Mother: mhm? – you think she should have gotten

16 suspended?

17 (0.6)

18 Lucy: at LEAST – That's

19 (0.4)

20 Mother: mhm?

21 [

22 Lucy: (it's) not allowed in scho?ol.=

((Intervening dialogue in Ochs' original transcript excerpted for space considerations))

23 Lucy: if you go to detention more than three times –

24 then you get suspended

25 Father: ((head leaning forward)) More than <u>how</u> many

26 times?

27 Lucy: three ((raises hand as if to show 3 fingers))

28 Father: ((nods yes))

29 (0.4)

30 Chuck: Lucy? – you only ever went to it <u>once</u> – right?=

31 Father: =(clears throat))

32 (1.0) ((Lucy arches her back, eyes open wide, looks shocked, starts shaking her head no once; Father looking at her)) ((transcript continues))

(Ochs, 1997:46-48; line numbering does not appear in Ochs' original narrative)

While Lucy is the officially recognized teller in this narrative event, Lucy's mother plays a significant role of attributing internal cognitive states to Lucy in line 15 ("mhm? – <u>you</u> think she should have gotten suspended?"). Lucy's father,

similarly, contributes to the narrative's content by establishing the number of detentions that constitute the grounds for suspension in line 25. Lucy's younger brother Chuck, however, most significantly contributes to this narrative by providing an alternative context of interpretation for Lucy's resentment towards her teacher: Lucy has served detention herself and feels that the actions of the girl described are much worse than her infraction. Chuck's revelation also provides an unfavorable social representation of Lucy that she had not intended to reveal. "The Detention Story" is representative of what Ochs calls 'co-narration,' oral narrative events in which, rather than a single teller, the narrative sequence is produced through a highly interactive participation among participants. Among the variants of co-narrative events, Norrick (2000) has identified the 'collaborative retelling.'

3.3.3.4 Collaborative Retellings

Norrick (2000) describes yet another type of co-narration, the 'collaborative retelling.' In these retellings participants interactively reproduce well-known stories of their common experience. As a form of co-narration, the participants' prior knowledge of events allows multiple tellers to move in and out

of the teller's role to present different aspects of a story. An example is the story sequence "Poodle" in (3.5).

(3.5) "Poodle"

1	Louise:	remember [when-]
2	Jean:	[it was] terrible
3	Louise:	Jennifer, the first time Jennifer had a perm
4		when she came home.
5		it was the funniest thing.
6	Jean:	she put something on her head,
7		a bag or something?
8	Louise:	she wore her-
9	Anne:	{laughs}
10	Louise:	well she wore her-
11	Helen:	"hair ball, hair ball"
12		yeah, because she-
13	Annie:	she just always had this hood on.
14		and she ran right upstairs,
15	Louise:	no.
16		first she threw her bag up the stairs,

17		almost hit me.
18	Annie:	oh yeah.
19	Louise:	then “bang.”
20		the door slams ((continues))

(Norrick, 2000:155)

Although Louise introduces the topic of Jennifer’s first perm, both Jean and Annie add story details. They describe Jennifer as wearing something over her head (lines 6 and 13) and Annie describes how Jennifer ran straight upstairs, though this event is subsequently corrected by Louise (line 15) and ratified by Annie (line 18).

Norrick argues collaborative retellings serve significant socio-interactional functions of promoting the participants’ feelings of solidarity by increasing the interactional intensity of the telling and highlighting the participants’ membership in a common social group. The retelling allows participants to relive some salient common experience, confirming a shared long-term bond and promoting feelings of belonging.

3.3.3.5 The Report

Finally, yet another form of conversational storytelling is the report. Reports, like stories, are specific, past-tense narratives that recount a series of

actual events (Polanyi, 1985). Unlike other forms of oral narrative, however, reports are not explicitly evaluative. Reports, like example (3.6) below, taken from the same corpus as "El Convento" and "La Buseta," are constructed as objective presentations of 'facts,' often provided by way of an explanation. Rather than developing an evident interpretative perspective, "the burden of assigning differential weighting to the various narrated propositions […] falls to the receiver of the report" (Polanyi, 1985:13), as in (3.6).

(3.6) Report

1 A: y Umberto

and Umberto

2 (0.2)

3 C: se quedó porque tenía un examen

he stayed because he had an exam

4 (0.4)

5 C: y él me dijo que lo llamara y yo no(h)o voy a ver a verlo

and he told me to call him and no(h)o I'm going to see to see him

Consequently, reports frequently lack interactional structures related to the story's evaluative functions; namely, the story preface and response sequence. Because reports are typically presented as accountings for something in the immediate discursive context, such as Umberto's failure to go to the party in line 1 of (3.6), they require no story preface that would serve to separate the report from its precedent. Similarly, because reports are non-performative events, they require no recipient evaluative uptake.

As demonstrated by this introduction to some of the forms of oral narratives, storytelling may assume a variety of organizations outside of monologic, teller-centered performative tellings. Among its variants, storytelling participants may assume various roles in producing the narrative. Various socio-interactional functions have been attributed to distinctive forms of storytelling, which will be considered in greater detail in Section 3.4.

3.4 The Socio-Interactional Functions of Storytelling

As just noted in Norrick's (2000) analysis of collaborative retellings, socio-interactional analyses emphasize the socio-interactional functions of storytelling. This research indicates that storytelling is significantly related to how individuals

solve problems, instruct others, represent themselves to others, and establish and maintain interpersonal relationships.

Storytelling constitutes a form of collaborative problem solving. As a function of its evaluative dimension, storytelling allows its teller to juxtapose scenes, agents, acts, instruments, and purposes into unique constellations that make sense of these elements. As a solitary activity, like literary representations, a story reveals how an individual interprets a set of events. Accordingly, researchers in artificial intelligence have treated storytelling as a window upon the cognitive process by which individuals "chunk" or "package" information (Abelson, 1976; Schank & Abelson, 1977; Schank, 1982). In interaction, however, storytelling constitutes a joint 'theory building activity' (Ochs, 1992) in which participants collaboratively construct a particular interpretation of a set of events. The level of collaboration necessarily varies with the type of storytelling. In a teller-dominated narrative event, the story recipients are simply presented with an evaluative interpretation of narrative events for their own evaluative uptake. By contrast, in more collaborative storytelling organizations such as retellings, participants actively engage in identifying narrative elements and in constructing evaluative stances to make sense of portrayed events.

Still other researchers (Bernstein, 1971; Heath, 1983; Mumby, 1987; Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph & Smith,1992; Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986) have noted the role of

storytelling as a form of socialization practice. In the analysis of dinner-table conversations among American and Israeli families, Blum-Kulka, 1993) notes, "The narrative events examined here, performed by both adults and children, function as crucial socializing contexts for family interaction in general" (p. 362). In their evaluative role of examining the boundaries between the ordinary and the extraordinary and packaging them in cognitively coherent ways, these researchers note storytelling in expert-novice interactions allows the expert to point out aberrant events from a cultural perspective and members' understanding of them. Storytelling in this sense serves as a means for socializing children and novices into local notions of situational appropriateness (Ochs, 1997:193). In a Vygotskyan (1986) sense, storytelling becomes a tool for mediating the internalization of cultural knowledge. Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph, and Smith (1992) in particular have argued that dinner-table storytelling plays a role in instructing children in the critical, problem-solving skills typically associated with the sciences. Mumby (1987) has similarly argued in institutional settings that narratives of institutional organizations are the "means of which ideological meaning formations are produced, maintained, and reproduced" (p. 118).

Oral narratives play a similar important role in developing and representing participants' social constructions of self. Because stories allow their tellers to recount their personal experiences and their understanding of these events, the

story becomes a central tool by which tellers may claim to be a particular type of person. "Self-aggrandizement stories" (Norrick, 2000), in which tellers present their personal victories, are an obvious example of this role of storytelling. Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra, and Mintz (1990) explain that stories "provide one widely available means by which people create, interpret, and publicly project culturally constituted images of self in face-to-face interaction" (p. 292).

Finally, as a collaborative activity, the representation of social images of self becomes a means by which participants negotiate their interpersonal relationships. The story format allows participants to portray the intimate events of their lives – personal experiences, attitudes, and concerns – for the recipient's consideration. In receiving and supporting these perspectives, recipients ratify the identity the tellers claim for themselves while portraying both teller and recipient as of a like mind. Norrick (1993) states,

> "In exchanging stories about our personal lives, we present a self for ratification by other participants in the conversation and we "gather relevant social data" about these others, in the sense of Goffman (1959). To the extent that we accept the selves presented in the personal narratives we tell each other, we create solidarity and rapport between us." (Norrick, 1993:45)

Tannen (1989) has also characterized storytelling as one of the primary strategies individuals use for creating rapport.

Storytelling, finally, serves social functions of organizing its participants in socially-significant participation organizations. Researchers, including Philips (1972), Goffman (1981), and M. Goodwin (1990), have noted that communicative events have the capacity to organize participants in socially-significant 'participation organizations' according to participants' activity-specific rights and responsibilities. Goffman (1981), for example, notes in talking that the speaker assumes the role of 'speaker' and casts others variably as ratified participants, either addressees or recipients, or unratified 'overhearers' or 'bystanders.' Speakers are responsible for producing talk in accordance with cultural norms of communicative activity while the addressee is responsible for providing some culturally appropriate response.

Storytelling similarly organizes its participants into significant participation organization as 'tellers' and 'recipients.' Tellers have the right to occupy the floor where they are responsible for producing a story in accordance with culture-specific norms of storytelling. Recipients, by contrast, are responsible for supporting the teller's production and have the right and responsibility to evaluate the teller's story story-finally. As seen in the discussion of co-narration, however, these participation organizations may be reorganized to attribute varying roles to storytelling participants.

As previously noted, early approaches to oral narrative analysis were grounded in literary conceptions of narrative. Subsequent research has been grounded in analyses of human action and, accordingly, it is not surprising that these interactional accounts of storytelling should focus their attention on the social functions of storytelling. Among these functions has been noted the narrative as an interpretative or evaluative device. Given the significance of the evaluative functions of narrative, Section 3.5 briefly reviews some of the evaluative devices identified by previous oral narrative scholars.

3.5 Oral Narrative Evaluative Techniques

As noted by previous researchers of oral storytelling, storytellers have various resources at their disposition for developing the evaluative point of their tellings, including both what they say and how they say it; i.e., both the propositional and production features of their tellings.

In propositional terms, storytellers develop the evaluative stance of their tellings by picking and choosing those narrative elements that support their particular perspective. To pick a highly illustrative example, defense lawyers and prosecutors introduce information to produce a 'narrative of events' around a

crime that either tends to exculpate or incriminate the defendant. As described by Labov (1972), these narrative elements may take the form of a narrative event itself. 'Evaluative actions,' such as (3.7) below, provide the recipient with events intended to lead the recipient to the same evaluative conclusion reached by the teller.

(3.7) Evaluative Action

I never prayed to God so fast and so hard in my life! (Labov, 1972:373)

Conversely, evaluative propositional content may appear as non-event clauses that function as a form of 'external evaluation' (Labov, 1972) in which the tellers explicitly assert their evaluative interpretation of events, as in (3.8) in which the teller states she considers the events 'strange.'

(3.8) External Evaluation

gg and it was the strangest feeling
because you couldn't tell
if they were really gonna make it

hh if they didn't make it,

it was such a small little plane,

there was no chance for anybody

(Labov, 1972:371)

Likewise, tellers may develop the narrative's evaluative stance through how they produce the telling. Polanyi (1985) has argued that one of the primary evaluative strategies pursued by tellers is to exploit production features, including phonetic, lexical, syntactic, and discursive elements designed to draw the recipient's attention to narrative elements the teller considers of special evaluative importance. These production features, here referred to as evaluative focalization mechanisms, walk the recipient through the teller's interpretive process by pointing out the relevant elements the teller has taken into consideration.

An example of the evaluative functions of evaluative focalization mechanisms is seen in the development of "Las Américas," in (3.1) above. Teller Dyanna highlights and calls the recipient's attention to the story's central narrative event, Chiri's humiliation at the hands of a bus driver, with a series of evaluative focalization mechanisms. Dyanna underscores Chiri's passive reaction in the face of the driver's aggressive tone by phonetically punctuating the driver's words ("QUE NO," "y el tipo no") while at once muting Chiri's response — here

symbolically represented between degree signs ("°Chiri le tiende la puerta, se bajan todo lo pasajero,°," "°me va a dar la cola?°," "Chiri opens the door for them, all the passengers get out"). Norrick (2000), moreover, notes that tellers may exploit formulaic expressions, such as "He tried and he tried' to highlight the evaluative significance of narrative elements. Here Dyanna draws attention to Chiri's humiliation by organizing its events as formulaic paired acts (e.g., "Chiri says/the bus driver responds," "Chiri asks again/the bus driver responds"). Dyanna exploits these evaluative features to make clear to her recipient, Lilibeth, that event to which she wants Lilibeth to pay attention: Chiri being humiliated by a bus driver.

Though not presented as such, Labov's (1972) analysis of 'external evaluation,' as in example (3.8) above, may also be considered an evaluative production feature. By suspending the forward progression of narrative events through the introduction of external evaluative clauses, the teller draws the recipient's attention. Trabasso and Özyürek (1997) explain:

> "By departing from the temporal sequence, the narrator communicates something more important than the reference or mere recapitulation of the events. To make a point, the narrator uses evaluative devices that mark some narrative units off as more important than others. The point was to show which events were dangerous or unusual, strange, uncommon, or valenced and non-neutral and was often accompanied by expression of emotion" (p. 270).

For Labov, the suspension of narrative events creates an element of narrative 'suspense' that heightens the dramatic presentation of the telling.

It should be noted that previous oral narrative scholars have described evaluation notably from the perspective of the teller. In this sense, these accounts continue to demonstrate the tendency to think of storytelling as a teller-centered activity. As already seen in the role Sacks (1974) attributes to the recipient in confirming or denying in the response sequence the evaluative interpretation advanced by the teller, evaluation is an interactive event, like storytelling itself. Storytelling events "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are particularly demonstrative of this point where, as will be seen, the challenge sequence functions as a interactive device for characterizing these tellings' central narrative events as particularly surprising.

3.6 Summary

The foregoing literature review has presented an introduction to oral narrative analysis, beginning with a definition of narrative as a chronological device for interpreting events. Previous oral narrative research has moved from decontextualized textual analyses to increasingly contextualized, teller-centered monologic and interactional analyses that highlight the dynamic role of

participants and the social functions of storytelling in story production. While textual and monologic accounts are consistent with lay, literacy-induced notions of oral narratives as 'stories' presented by 'tellers' or 'authors' for the entertainment of their audiences, more recent interactionalist accounts have increasingly uncovered a wide range of oral narrative genres in which participants dynamically construct the telling in execution of numerous socio-interactional functions.

This research will now be applied to the analysis of storytelling sequences "El Convento" and "La Buseta."

Chapter 4

"El Convento" and "La Buseta"

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter begins the analytic portion of this study with an introduction of the two storytelling events examined here, "El Convento" and "La Buseta," as well as some background information about how these storytelling events were collected. The analysis of these unique tellings illustrates how situated storytelling events frequently differ from metapragmatic notions of storytelling as a teller-centered, monologic linguistic event. On the one hand, rather than constituting a finite set of telling organizations, oral narrative events may assume a wide variety of organizations. Among these organizations, the recipient frequently plays a central role in directing the course of the telling and contributing to the narrative's interpretation. Finally, storytelling is not strictly a linguistic act. As will be seen in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," storytelling may be produced as a multi-modal event in which participants exploit linguistic and extra-linguistic communicative displays to produce their tellings.

As will be seen, the distinguishing feature of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is their incorporation of a story-initial challenge sequence in which the teller challenges the recipient to provide a key narrative element. Given the significant role played by the challenge sequence in the development of these storytelling events, Chapter 5 provides an examination of the structural and interactional organization of the challenge sequence. This analysis will subsequently be applied in Chapter 6 to account for the narrative and socio-interactional functions of the unique structural organization of "El Convento" and "La Buseta."

4.2 Data Collection

This study notably was initially designed as an opportunity to carry out Conversation Analysis on data representing native Spanish interaction. While the success of Conversation Analysis has led to the application of this analytic framework in numerous languages, relatively little work has been done in Spanish. This study accordingly is intended to contribute to the relatively short bibliography of Spanish Conversation Analysis research. The goal of the data collection phase of this study was simply to obtain a corpus of naturally occurring interactional events in Spanish for analysis.

These interactional sequences were collected in Mérida, Venezuela, where the researcher was teaching English at the Universidad de Los Andes in the spring of 1999. To ensure the naturalness of these events, several steps were taken. First, considering that CA may be carried out on any interaction, regardless of whether participants know each other prior to this event, participants were selected based on their membership in a common social network. This step was taken to ensure that participants felt at ease and that they had many topics to discuss. The participants in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," who were Ana, Eduardo, Alejandro, and Carlos, are all university students of the same age, and associated with a local language academy either as students, instructors, or close friends. Ana holds an advanced degree in English and teaches Spanish to American study abroad students at the academy. Her close friend Eduardo, the recipient of "La Buseta," studies biology at the Universidad de Los Andes. Carlos, the recipient of "El Convento," studies English at the academy in preparation for his move to the United States. Carlos' friend Alejandro, the teller of "El Convento," also studies English at the academy and was making preparations to travel to the United States the following year for a year-long study abroad program. Dyanna, Lilibeth, and Chiri, the participants in example narrative sequence "Las Américas," were students in the researcher's English class.

Secondly, steps were taken to put participants at ease with the video-taping process. Participants were initially given the opportunity to become acquainted with the researcher over the course of several months before they were asked to participate in this study. When the study began, participants were filmed in familiar locations, typically at one of their apartments, on several occasions before producing the interactional sequences that were ultimately selected for this analysis. Participants explicitly gave their permission to be filmed and at no time were they surreptitiously filmed without their knowledge. No topic of conversation was suggested or offered, and participants were simply asked to "have a conversation." The camera was positioned approximately 10 feet from participants to be sufficiently close to capture in full detail the their actions, yet far enough away to avoid being an obstructive presence. Additionally an external microphone was additionally placed on the table between participants. The camera was turned on and the researcher left the room.

Finally, in the final step of the data collection phase of this study, the resultant interactional sequences were transcribed. It should be noted that, like narrative itself, transcription is an interpretive event. While Conversation Analytic transcription notation (see Chapter 2 for a description and Appendix C for a list of CA transcription conventions) is designed to produce an objective representation of exactly what participants said and did, whether intentionally or

not, in practice the analysts still make decisions about what features of interaction they considered significant. Some analysts may place particular importance on linguistic features of talk, while others may emphasize the physical displays that accompany talk. Consequently, one researcher's transcription may not provide the detail on specific aspects of talk in interaction that other researchers would like to see in accordance with their own particular research agendas. In transcribing the sequences represented in this study, the present investigator attempted to produce a representation objective as possible of exactly what the participants said and did. The researcher recognizes, however, that, in line with his academic training the transcriptions place special emphasis on the regional phonetic features of the speakers' speech, including the aspiration of sibalants and the variation of vowel quality. In accordance with the investigator's research interests, attention is focused on the physical displays that accompany the participants' speech. On the other hand, little attention is given to the prosodic features in the talk. The transcription, however, is consistent with the arguments presented in the analysis of these sequences.

The transcriptions used in the main body of this study, moreover, do not contain a morphological analysis of the speaker's talk. As previously stated in Chapter 1, relatively little research has been carried out in Conversation Analysis in languages other than English. To make research accessible to a wider

audience, CA analyses in other languages are frequently presented in a three-line transcription format. The original language sequence is presented in the initial line. In the second line the original language sequence is broken down into its morphological components. Finally, in a third line a free form translation is presented in English. This transcription has obvious benefits of allowing other researchers to verify the author's assertions about what is being said. Accordingly, a morphological transcription of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is found in Appendixes A and B, respectively. This convention, however, has not been followed in the main body of this study because it is frequently inconsistent with the goals of this research. Morphological analyses direct the reader's attention to the turn-internal lingusitic features of talk, while this study attempts to emphasize the interactional features of talk. The three-line morphological glossing of talk also obscures the graphic representation of the relationship of turns of talk to each other, making it exceedingly difficult to see what turns at talk are produced in overlap with other talk.

4.3 Data Presentation

Storytelling events "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are seen in the following section.

4.3.1 "El Convento"

In the first of these storytelling events, "El Convento" ("The Convent"), Alejandro (A) and Carlos (C) are catching up on their activities over Holy Week when Alejandro introduces the following narrative sequence about a mutual friend's trip to Italy. Please see Appendix C for a list of the transcription notations employed here and Appendix B for a morphological glossing of this sequence.

(4.1) **"El Convento"**

1	C:	sí [(---)]
	C:	*yes [(---)*]
		[
2	A:	[be.]>uste supo que Ge:rg< (.) °cuando llegó a Italia°
	A:	*[good. >you knew that Gerg< (.) °when he arrived in Italy°*
3		que – >que no tenía en donde< – que[darse]
		that – >that he didn't have anywhere – to [stay]
		[
4	C:	[epa.]
		[hey]

5		así fue siempre
		It's always been that way
6		(.)
7	A:	sí. que no tenía donde quedarse y vaina. y .h (0.2)
	A:	*yeh. that he didn't have anywhere to stay and stuff and .h (0.2)*
8		to:l mun- toda vaina todo lo hoteles ful. y toda vaina.
		everyon– everything all the hotels full. and everything.
9		>y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<
		>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<
10		((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh
11	C:	(0.8)((shrug))
12	A:	en un cunvento. [hah
	A:	*in a convent [hah*
		[
13	C:	[((lip part))
14		(0.2)
15	A:	.h d[o noche]
	A:	*.h t[wo nights*]
		[
16	C:	[a: su ma]dre=

C: *[a: his mot]her=*

17 A: =di[ez dólare –]

A: *=te[n dollars –]*

[

18 C: [(ha) haha]ha (°-[-°)]

[

19 A: [diez] dólare la noche (0.2) y la –

A: *[ten]dollars the night (0.2) and the –*

20 >en el cuarto< habían (0.4) en ese cuarto habían cuarenta

>in the room< there was (0.4) in that room there was forty

21 persona también (0.8) .h no? (.) y que la – la mohnja

people as well (0.8) .h no? (.) and that the – the nun

22 llegaba a la die de la noche (.) apagaba la luz y la trencaba

arrived at ten at night (.) turned off the light and locked it ((the door))

23 ha y a dormir se: dicho

ha and to sleep you go

24 (1.4)

25 A: ha[ha ha .hh]

[

26 C: [a su madre] (---[------)

C: *[a his mother (---[------)*

[

27 A [chamo] te cree que uno ta en Italia y: =

A: *[man] can you believe you're in Italy and: =*

28 ((pen slap on table)) ((lateral head shakes)) ((hand slap on

29 table)) ((lateral head shakes)) cuestese a la diez (0.4) uno va

table))((lateral head shakes)) go to bed at ten (0.4) you're going

30 a [rumbiar >y no sé que<

to [bar hop >and I don't know<

[

31 C: [cuánto tiempo se quedó] allí

C: *[how long did he stay there]*

Thematically, "El Convento" narrates the sequence of events by which the protagonist Gerg makes a trip to Italy and ends up staying in a convent.

4.3.2 "La Buseta"

Now consider the second more extensive storytelling event, "La Buseta." As in "El Convento," "La Buseta" is presented in the original Spanish. Please refer to Appendix B for a morphological glossing of this sequence. In this storytelling event in (4.2), the teller Ana (A) narrates an interaction she had with her American roommate Patricia, in which Patricia said something particularly surprising.

(4.2) **"La Buseta"**

1	A:	((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <po sí po sí po sí>. tú sabes que
	A:	*((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <well yes well yes well yes> you know that*
2		Patricia me dice (1.4) que (1.0) que ten(h)ía ganas de hacer algo:
		Patricia told me (1.4) that (1.0) that sh(h)e wanted to do something:
3		ha [ha ha ha]
		[
4	E:	[algo difer]ente?
	E:	*[something differ]ent?*
5		(.)

6	A:	e(h) si(hi) (0.2) .ha coroto muy dif(h)erente(h)ehehe
	A:	*e(h) ye(h)s (0.2) .ha something very diff(h)erent(h)ehehe*
7		(.)
8	E:	[por]qué
	E:	*[why]*
		[
9	A:	[.hh]
10		(.)
11	A:	si no viene un agente no va na:
	A:	*if a policeman does come nothing will happen:*
12		(.)
13	E:	un piyama padi?
	E:	*a pajama party?*
14		(.)
15	A:	no joda
	A:	*don't fuck with me*
16		(0.2)
17	A:	>es[o –]eso – esa< e comú:n =[yo creo]
	A:	*>tha[t –] that – that<'s commo:n =[I think]*

		[	[
18	E:	[gha]	[no pero]aquí en Venezuela
	E:	*[gha]*	*[no but] here in Venezuela*
19		no es tan común.	
		it's not so common	
20		(0.2)	
21	E:	[tu pre]fiere	
	E:	*[you pre]fer*	
		[	
22	A:	[na.] pero – pero sería comun: com[o:]	
	A:	*[na.] but – but it would be common: lik[e:]*	
			[
23	E:		[a cl]aro
	E:		*[a su]re*
24	A:	>no se vería< estrafalario	
	A:	*>it wouldn't be seen as< outrageous*	
25		(0.2)	
26	E:	y qué quiere hacer entonces. nos disfrace[mos] o algo así?	
	E:	*and what does she want to do then. we get disgui[sed] or something*	
		like that	

			[
27	A:		[no.]
28		(1.4)	
29	A:	quiere beber caña,	
	A:	*she wants to drink cane alcohol,*	
30		(0.8)	
31	A:	adivine dónde	
	A:	*guess where*	
32		(2.7)	
33	E:	donde la viuda	
	E:	*at the widow's place*	
34		(0.2)	
35	A:	>m¿a<	
36		(1.2)	
37	A:	en una buseta (.) dando vu(h)uelt(h)a ha haha	
	A:	*in a bus (.) going arou(h)d in ci(h)rcles(h)a ha haha*	
38		[ha ha]	
		[	
39	E:	[((amazed] look))	
40		(0.3)	

41 A: ha ha [ha ha]

[

42 E: [°pana°]viste. por eso lo gringo son famoso

E: *[°man°] you see. that's why gringos are famous*

43 A: kha[:] [ha

[[

44 E: [lo]s [tipos se le ocurren una vainas que s[OLO a ell]os.

E: *[th]ose [guys they get some ideas that o[NLY them.*

[

45 A: [HA Ha ha]

46 E: pan(h)a ha

E: *ma(h)an ha*

47 A: ha [ha]

[

48 E: [((sn]iffle))

49 (1.6)

50 A: .hh[h] [ya ve]

A: *.hh[h]* *[you see]*

[[

51 E: [beb]er caña en [una bu:]seta

E: *[drink cane alcohol in [a bu:]s*

52 (1.2)

53 A: >e que< yo le estaba cont[ando a ella]

53 A: *>it's that< I was tel[ling her]*

[

54 E: [no e]peligro[so

E: *[it's not] danger[ous*

[

55 A: [tsa ha

56 (0.2)

57 A: de que yo le conté a ella que una vez de (1.0) me vine

A: *that I told her that once (1.0) I came*

58 de Tovar, y (1.0) Tiffany trajo un cooler (0.6) Tiffanyha con

from Tovar, and (1.0) Tiffany brought a cooler (0.6) Tiffanyha with

59 el cooler tamando no (0.4) >pero que< habíamo echao:a –

the cooler drinking ya know (0.4) >but that< we'd pu:t: –

60 no me acuerdo que carajo había ahí y había algo. ahi

I don't remember what there was and there was something there

61 veníamo tomando y todo mundo arrecho porque .hh el olor

we were drinking and everyone mad because .hh the smell

62 y la vaina.=cada vez destapamo el – el taponcito pf:::: .h el

and the thing.=each time we took off the lid the – the top pf:::: .h the

63 olor kha ento(h)ce .hh dice (0.8) yo le digo Patri – Patricia

smell kha th(h)en .hh she says (0.8) I say Patri – Patricia

64 AY:: yo quiero hacer eso. y yo porque = me dice .hh sí yo

OH:: I want to do that. and me why = she says to me .hh yeh I

65 quiero montarme en una buse:ta y empezar a dar vue(h)ta en

want to get on a bu:s and begin to go around in circ(h)le in

66 una buseta.=y tod(h)o [cua ha ha ha]

a little bus.=and everybo(h)dy [cua ha ha ha]

[

67 E: [kha ha]

68 hahahaha

In thematic terms, in "La Buseta" Ana narrates the sequence of events by which she tells her roommate, Patricia, that she made a car trip to Tovar. The car was filled with the smell of alcohol, and Patricia responds she would like to drink cane alcohol on a city bus going around in circles.

4.4 Preliminary Analysis of "El Convento" and "La Buseta"

The following section provides a preliminary analysis of the narrative and interactional features of these storytelling events. While "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are relatively simplistic in narrative terms, in interactional terms these storytelling events are highly complex interactive sequences. They highlight the disparity between the teller-centered, linguistically-based monologic representations of storytelling and the highly interactive, multi-modal organization storytelling events may assume in interaction.

4.4.1 Minimal Narratives

It should be noted that in strictly thematic terms, analyzing "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as in a textual analysis, these narrative sequences are notably simplistic. Each consists of just two discrete narrative events. In "El Convento," Gerg is described as first making a trip to Italy with no place to stay and then finally staying in a convent. Similarly, in "La Buseta," Ana describes herself as first telling Patricia a story about Ana's car trip, to which Patricia subsequently

responds she would like to drink cane alcohol on a city bus. This simple narrative structure is represented in (4.3) and (4.4).

(4.3) "El Convento"

Event Clause 1:	Gerg arrived in Italy with no place to stay.
Event Clause 2:	Gerg stayed in a convent.

(4.4) "La Buseta"

Event Clause 1:	I told Patricia a story about a trip I took to Tovar.
Event Clause 2:	Patricia said she wanted to drink cane alcohol on a city bus.

Both tellings consist of just two interrelated narrative events: an initial event that provides the preliminary setting for the story's second narrative event, which is the central narrative event. Other narrative details, including Alejandro's description of the cost and the length of Gerg's stay at the convent and the description of the nun's nightly visits to lock the door in "El Convento," and Ana's embedded story about what happened on her car trip in "La Buseta," are presented in non-event clauses. This pattern is particularly evident in "El

Convento" where Alejandro morphologically marks subsequent narrative content as aspectually imperfect (L21-22: monja llegaba, *the nun used to arrive*; L22: apagaba, trencaba, *she would turn out the lights and lock the door*). While these additional narrative details do contribute to the broader characterization of the circumstances of the narrative, they do not advance the story's chronological dimension and according constitute background information or setting. These tellings are accordingly consistent with what Labov (1972) describes as the simplest type of narratives, which are the 'minimal narratives' — narrative sequences consisting of just two narrative events separated by a single temporal juncture.

4.4.2 Interactional Organization

In interactional terms, however, in marked contrast with teller-centered monologic storytelling events, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are notably complex tellings in which participants alternate in the speaking role across the trajectory of the presentation of the narrative sequence.

In "El Convento," Alejandro assumes the floor in lines 2 and 3 to present the background setting that Gerg made a trip to Italy without any reservations. The recipient Carlos quickly takes the floor in lines 4 and 5 to comment upon this

information: Gerg has always done this. While Alejandro picks up the narrative sequence again in lines 7 and 8, he promptly cedes the floor to Carlos in line 9 to guess where Gerg stayed. When Carlos fails to guess where Gerg stayed in line 11, Alejandro take the floor again in line 12 to reveal that Gerg stayed in a convent, at which point the floor reverts to Carlos to receive this revelation with an open-mouth gasp. Alejandro provides further narrative content in lines 15 (".h d[o noche") and 17 ("=di[ez dólare —"). Rather than constituting discrete narrative elements that might be transcribed as a written text, these narrative details are significantly produced in overlap with the recipient's evaluative uptake of previous narrative content. As discussed subsequently, there is reason to believe Alejandro intentionally produces these narrative elements in overlap with Carlos' response, such that their significance cannot be described in strictly textual terms. Only in line 19 does Alejandro stand out clearly as the speaker of record to provide further details within the intervention of the recipient.

Similarly, in "La Buseta," both the teller Ana and the recipient Eduardo play significant roles in producing this storytelling event. Ana begins in lines 1 and 2 recounting that her roommate Patricia said she wants to do something. When she produces this beginning with significant turn-internal gaps and finally abandons her turn in a laugh sequence before specifying what Patricia wants to do, Eduardo takes the floor in line 4 to seek further information, asking if Patricia

wants to do something unusual. Ana and Eduardo alternate in the speaking role twice more in lines 6 through 11, in which Eduardo elicits more information and Ana provides non-specific responses. Finally, Eduardo provides in line 13 what may be clearly heard as a guess ("un piyama padi," '*a pajama party*'), which Ana denies in line 15, giving way into a sequence in lines 17 through 24 in which Ana and Eduardo argue over the relative merits of Eduardo's guess and whether it constitutes an unusual event. Eduardo reinitiates the narrative sequence in line 26, asking what Patricia wants to do, at which point Ana challenges Eduardo in lines 29 and 31 to guess where Patricia wants to drink cane alcohol. Eduardo guesses at the widow's place in line 33, which Ana again rejects, before revealing the answer in line 37, "in a bus going around in circles." Eduardo responds with an amazed look in line 39 and then states in lines 42 and 44 this action is something only a *gringo* would devise. In line 50 Ana begins to provide more information but is blocked by Eduardo's talk in overlap in line 51. Ana is again blocked in line 53 by Eduardo's talk in overlap in line 54. Only in line 57 does Ana assume the floor in an extended turn at talk to provide further narrative details, recapitulating the story from its beginning and ending in Patricia's comments in lines 64 through 66, which Eduardo receives with laughter in lines 67 and 68.

"El Convento" and "La Buseta" break with previous linguistically-grounded representations of storytelling events in the significant role played by extra-linguistic communicative displays in their development.

4.4.3 Extra-Linguistic Features

Extra-linguistic communicative displays, including postural orientation, gaze, and the exploitation of physical artifacts, play an important role in how these tellings are produced. By way of an example, consider how the participants in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" make use of extra-linguistic displays in the story preface sequences of these telling. As graphically represented in (4.5), in "El Convento" Alejandro initially signals his desire to take the floor by suspending a pencil in Carlos' line of vision. Alejandro next produces a punctuated disjunctive marker ("be," "*good*") and then turns his gaze toward Carlos (symbolically represented as '…') while he raises the pencil to a pointing motion. Carlos, in turn, recognizes Alejandro's intent to produce a story by turning his gaze towards Alejandro, arriving on the element "Gerg." As previously discussed in Chapter 3, Kendon (1967) associated recipient shifts in gaze towards a speaker like that displayed by Carlos as a demonstration that supports the intended speaker's claim to the floor.

(4.5) "El Convento" Story Preface Sequence

A: ((pencil suspension)) …(point)_____,,,

be. >uste supo que Ge:rg< [(.) °cuando llegó…

C: … [X_____

In "La Buseta" the teller Ana similarly exploits a mixture of verbal and extra-verbal communicative displays to bring her telling to the floor, as may be seen graphically represented in (4.6).

(4.6) "La Buseta" Story Preface Sequence

Ana: (Gazing at table) ((postural shift))

((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <po sí po sí po sí>. tú sabes que Patricia me dice

Eduardo: (Gazing at wall)) X_____

Just prior to the initiation of "La Buseta," Ana and Eduardo have interactively bracketed off the previous topic by slightly shifting their gaze and postural orientation away from each. Szymanski (1999) has identified gaze and postural diversions like these as a 'pre-disengagement act' through which participants shift out of, or produce a lapse in, 'focused interaction' (Goffman, 1963) by displaying

a lack of coordination. Ana next produces an audible lip part and a three-item sequence <po sí po sí po sí>, consisting of the phonetically reduced lexical sequence 'pues sí' ('well yes'). These 'pre-beginning elements' (Schegloff, 1996) indicate Ana's intention to assume the floor. Just as she begins the following utterance "tú sabes que Patricia me dice" ('you know Patricia tells me'), Ana shifts her gaze and posture away from Eduardo in a play for the floor as previously described by Kendon (1967). Eduardo immediately affiliates himself with Ana's manifest intent to assume the floor by turning his gaze to Ana on the element 'que' ('that').

"El Convento" and "La Buseta," moreover, break with previous representations of storytelling events through their distinctive structural organizations.

4.4.4 Structural Organization

While Sacks (1974) has described storytelling events as a three-part interactional sequence, consisting of a story preface, telling, and response sequence, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" exhibit a distinctive four-part structural organization, consisting of a (1) story preface, (2) challenge sequence,

(3) post-challenge telling, and (4) response sequence. Each of these sequences are addressed in turn.

4.4.4.1 The Story Preface Sequence

As discussed in Section 4.4.3, both "El Convento" and "La Buseta" begin with a multi-modal story preface sequence through which tellers Alejandro and Ana bring to the floor their narrative sequences. These story preface sequences are consistent with Labov's (1972) description of the orientation, through which the teller sets the scene for the following narrative events. In lines 2 and 3 of "El Convento," teller Alejandro provides the background setting that, as the recipient Carlos already knows, Gerg made a trip to Italy with no place to stay. In "La Buseta" teller Ana similarly provides the background setting that Ana's American roommate Patricia has said she wants to do something unusual. These story preface sequences, as such, serve both interactional functions of bringing these tellings to the floor and narrative functions of providing the narrative's initial setting.

While Sacks (1974) describes the story preface as being followed by the telling sequence, in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" the story preface is uniquely followed by a challenge sequence.

4.4.4.2 Challenge Sequence

Following the story preface sequence, in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta" the recipients are challenged to provide a key narrative element. In "El Convento" Alejandro challenges Carlos in line 9 to guess where Gerg stayed on his trip to Italy ("*>y↓ a que no sabe dónde se quedó<*"; '*>and↓ I bet you don't know where he stayed<*'). While this challenge is explicit in "El Convento," the participants in "La Buseta" interactively constitute Ana's story preface as an implicit or functional challenge to the recipient to guess what Patricia said she wants to do. When Ana's orientation/story preface sequence in lines 1 and 2 fails to reveal what Patricia says she wants to do and Ana then abandons her turn in a series of laugh tokens in line 3, recipient Eduardo attempts to advance the telling by eliciting further details in line 4 ("[algo diferente?"; '*[something different'*) and 8 ("[por qué"; '*[why*'). Yet, when Ana's responses in lines 6 ("e(h) si(hi) (0.2) .ha coroto muy dif(h)erente(h)ehehe," '*e(h) ye(h)s (0.2) .ha something very diff(h)erent(h)ehehe*') and 11 ("si no viene un agente no va na:," '*if a policeman doesn't come nothing will happen:')* fail to produce a significant clarification, Eduardo demonstrates his understanding of this sequence as a functional challenge by giving the clearly audible candidate response ("un piyama padi?"; '*a*

pajama party?') in line 13. Ana in turn ratifies this interpretation in lines 15 and 17 by critiquing Eduardo's guess as too common (L15-17: "no joda (0.2) >es[o – eso – esa< e comú:n =[yo creo"; "*don't fuck with me (0.2) >tha[t – that – that<'s commo:n =[I think*"). Following a discussion of the merits of Eduardo's guess and how common pajama parties are in Venezuela, however, Ana further ratifies Eduardo's interpretation of the foregoing sequence as a functional challenge sequence by explicitly challenging Eduardo to guess where Patricia wants to drink cane alcohol in lines 29 and 31.

4.4.4.3 Post-Challenge Telling and Its Response Sequence

Following the challenge sequence, the tellers of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" proceed into a post-challenge telling sequence. In lines 19-23 of "El Convento," Alejandro describes how long Gerg stayed, the cost, and the conditions of the convent. Beginning in line 53 of "La Buseta," Ana similarly describes how she told Patricia the story about how she had made a trip with friend to her hometown in which the car reeked with the smell of alcohol. Ana finishes this sequence by repeating Patricia's response in line 66 that she would like to drive around in a city bus drinking cane alcohol.

Finally, following the post-challenge telling, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" end with a response sequence in which the recipient receives the teller's telling. In line 26 of "El Convento" Carlos responds "[a su madre (---[------)" '*[a his mother (---[------).*' In "La Buseta," by contrast, Eduardo receives Ana's post-challenge telling with a series of laugh tokens in lines 67 and 68. Though in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta" the participants go on further to discuss the events and participants of these narrative sequences, these 'post-challenge telling response sequences' close out the presentation of narrative content.

In sum "El Convento" and "La Buseta" demonstrate a distinctive four-part structural organization, consisting of a: (1) story preface; (2) challenge sequence; (3) post-challenge telling; and (4) response sequence. This structural organization is graphically represented in Figure (4.1).

Orientation/ Story Preface	Challenge Sequence	Post-challenge Telling	Post-Challenge Response Sequence

Figure (4.1) Challenge Sequence Narrative Interactive Organization

4.5 Discussion and Summary

As outlined in Section 4.3, rather than being the exclusive product of teller, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are produced in interaction between the teller and the recipient. "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are in this sense emblematic of recent analyses of storytelling that highlight the co-constructive nature of storytelling and the role this interaction plays in the execution of socio-interactional functions. Chapter 5 examines how the interactive nature of these tellings significantly contributes to the development of these narratives' evaluative dimension and the participants' interpersonal relationship.

The tellings exemplify the role of extra-linguistic communicative displays in face-to-face communicative events that has become more evident with the application of video taping to the analysis of human communication. Whereas Sacks (1974) describes story prefaces purely in linguistic terms as an initiation/response adjacency pair through which participants shut down the turn-taking system, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" demonstrate that extra-communicative displays may equally play an important role in this sequence.

Finally, these two tellings exhibit a distinctive interactive structural organization unlike like that identified by any previous research. Rather than preceding as a three-part interactive sequence as characterized by Sacks (1974), the tellings are produced as a four-part sequence, consisting of a (1) story preface,

(2) challenge sequence, (3) post-challenge telling, and (4) response sequence. "El Convento" and "La Buseta" represent findings of recent storytelling research: that there are many ways of telling a story outside of the prototypical teller-centered, monologic storytelling event. As observed by Blum-Kulka (1993), there is a continuum of storytelling organizations, each representing a distinctive storytelling strategy through which participants carry out both narrative and interactional functions.

In all these perspectives, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are representative of what reports Gene Lerner refers to as 'messy stories' (see Mandelbaum, 1987) — storytelling events that have been frequently overlooked for analysis because they do not correspond to our conceptions of what storytelling is and how it develops. The detailed analysis of interaction, however, demonstrates that rather than the exception, these messy stories are more frequently the rule. Thus, the previously teller-centered, monologic account of storytelling is representative of only a limited range of storytelling events and cannot account for the form and function of most storytelling.

Chapter 6 of this study addresses these deficiencies through an exemplary analysis of the form and function of the storytelling strategy evident in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," the 'challenge sequence telling.' It should be noted that, with the exception of the challenge sequence, these two tellings are notably

structurally similar to Sacks' (1974) description of the interactional organization of storytelling events. Both begin with a story preface sequence and end with a response sequence, that, in these two tellings, is a post-challenge telling response sequence. Only in the body of the telling itself do these organizations differ. Whereas Sacks (1974) describes the teller as assuming and holding the floor for the trajectory of the telling sequence, in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," by contrast, the teller suspends the telling to challenge the recipient. This organization raises significant questions as to what storytelling functions the challenge sequence serves. How does the challenge sequence affect the narrative and socio-interactional functions of the storytelling event? In order to answer this question subsequently in Chapter 6, Chapter 5 first examines the form and function of challenge sequences, which are structurally consistent with riddling sequences.

Chapter 5

Riddles and Riddling: An Interactional Account of the Telling of a Riddle

5.1 Introduction

In view of its crucial role in the storytelling sequences "El Convento" and "La Buseta," the present chapter examines the form and function of challenge sequences. Challenge sequences are structurally identical to the riddle formula, the interactional sequence of events through which riddles are told. The findings of this analysis are intended to support the examination of the role of challenge sequences as a storytelling strategy in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" in Chapter 6.

The analysis presented here of challenge sequences and the riddle formula notably is not an exhaustive treatment of this topic. Relatively little research has been carried out on the form and function of riddling events. The findings of this study are based on the analysis of a transcription of a limited number of actual riddling events taken from Evans (1973). While these findings are necessarily preliminary and may not account for broader variations of how individuals tell riddles and verbally challenge one another, it believed that these findings do reveal the fundamental mechanism underlying these sequences and allow for an

examination of the form and function of challenge sequences as a storytelling strategy as may be seen in "El Convento" and "La Buseta."

5.2 Riddling: Previous Research

Despite the frivolity one may associate with the term 'riddle' as a form of child's play, historically and cross-culturally riddling constitutes a serious verbal genre with significant social, pedagogical, and literary functions. Glazier and Glazier (1976), for example, have documented the crucial social role of riddling as a means of displaying oratory virtuosity among the Mbeerre of Sub-Saharan Africa. Ganader (1970) similarly has described riddling as historically constituting a fundamental feature of Finnish courting practices:

> "Old Goths, our ancestors in this kingdom tested with riddles the acuity, intelligence and skills of each other…also when a suitor or a young man came to ask for a girl, three or more riddles were posed to him, to test his mind with them, and if he could answer and interpret them, he received the girl, otherwise not, but was classified as stupid and good for nothing." (Ganander, 1970:127)

Elias Lönnrot likewise has characterized riddles as a pedagogical folk tool, analogous to mathematics in a formal learning setting, for teaching individuals how to discover the unknown starting with the known (Haavio, 1950).

Even our literary traditions incorporate riddling as a significant feature. In Judges 14:14 in the Old Testament of the Bible, Samson poses a riddle to the Philistines: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." With the help of Samson's wife, the Philistines correctly guess "What is sweeter than honey, what is stronger than a lion" — a reference to Samson's earlier discovery of a lion's carcass with a beehive in it. Similarly, the Sphinx in Greek mythology poses a riddle to the people of Thebes: "What has one voice and becomes four-footed, two-footed and three-footed? — Man, who crawls on all fours as a baby, then walks on two legs as an adult, and finally needs a cane in old age." Bauman (1996) has described one particular literary genre based on riddling that he calls 'riddle-tales.' Riddle tales include narratives such as Rumpelstiltskin, in which the telling of a riddle plays a central role in the narrative's development. Bauman observes that these narrative riddling events constitute a literary device for creating dramatic tension in the telling. The author creates tension by posing a riddle at the beginning of the narrative that is not resolved until the end of the story.

Not surprisingly, in view of their significant cross-cultural and multi-genre functions, riddles have attracted noteworthy investigative interest, in which riddling has been examined as a mechanism for revealing unexpected or 'surprising' relationships. Linguists, including Dienhart (1998) and Pepicello and Green (1984), have been interested in one particular type of riddling, known as the 'conundrum' or 'pun,' for its capacity to reveal the ambiguities between similar linguistic signs. As may be seen in example (5.1), the conundrum surprises by presenting an initial text ("What turns but never moves?") that advances an interpretation of the sign 'to turn' as 'to move' or 'rotate' before revealing a second and contrasting interpretation of 'turn' as 'to spoil' in a subsequent text.

(5.1) Conundrum

What turns but never moves?

— Milk.

Anthropologists, by contrast, have been interested in the role of riddling as a form of cultural expression. In particular, anthropologists have studied 'true riddles' (Taylor, 1951) for their capacity to reveal the similarities between the conceptual categories through which members of a particular culture classify the

world around them. Example (5.2), for example, exposes the similarities between the conceptualization of clothing as associated with man and leaves and trees.

(5.2) True riddle

In spring I am gay
In handsome array;
In summer more clothing I wear;
When colder it grows,
I fling off my clothes;
And in winter quite naked appear.
(solution "a tree," cited in Taylor, 1951:215)

The analysis of true riddles such as (5.2) provide anthropologists with insights into the conceptual taxonomy through which cultural members construct their world.

Notably, previous riddle research has largely neglected the analysis of riddling as an interactional event. Previous analyses have focused rather on the textual features of riddles as a linguistic text (Abrahams & Dundes, 1972; Dienhart, 1998; Ganader, 1970; Hamnett, 1967; Harries, 1971; Pepicello & Green, 1984; Taylor, 1944, 1951). As seen in the analysis of conundrums and true riddles, these text-based analyses describe riddles in syntactic and semantic

terms as surprising by presenting an initial semantic script before revealing a second unexpected semantic script.

By focusing exclusively on the semantic and conceptual features of riddles as texts, these text-based analyses have produced a relatively narrow analysis that fails to address the dynamics of an actual riddle telling event. Text-based analyses, for example, cannot account for why a riddling event such as (5.3), in which the recipient provides an immediate appropriate response, would be treated by its participants as not surprising.

(5.3) Riddling Sequence

A: What turns but never moves?

B: Milk.

Nor can a text-based analysis explain why a riddling event such as (5.4), in which the recipient predictably fails to provide the expected evaluative uptake at the end of the sequence, should likewise be treated as failing.

(5.4) Riddling Sequence

A: What turns but never moves?

B: I don't know.

A: Milk.

B: ((silence))

Finally, text-based analyses fail to predict the productive exploitation of the riddling sequence in the absence of an appropriate semantic or conceptual text. As may be seen in riddling sequences (5.5) and (5.6), the riddle tellers surprise the recipients in interactional terms by playing on the recipients' expectation of a hidden semantic or conceptual relationship they reason they will not be able to guess. When the riddle recipients admit their ignorance, the riddle tellers reveal an unsurprising response that casts the recipients as being unable to answer the simplest of questions.

(5.5) Riddling Sequence

A: Why did the chicken cross the street?

B: (I don't know.)

A: To get to the other side.

(5.6) Riddling Sequence

A: What's the difference between an elephant and a watermelon?

B: (I don't know.)

A: You'd be a fine one to send to the store for a watermelon.

As demonstrated in the subsequent analysis, the failure of previous text-based analyses of riddles to address the interactional production of riddles produces significant insights into the relationship between the riddle's function and how it is produced in situated interactions as well as other socio-interactional functions of riddling.

5.3 Challenge Sequences as Riddling Events

The interactional execution of the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are markedly similar to riddling events. Because relatively little research has been carried out on the interactional organization of such events, these findings are based on Evans' (1973) transcription of a series of riddle tellings — listed here as (5.7), (5.8), and (5.9) — in which an old man (OM) tells a series of riddles to two boys (B1 and B2).

(5.7) Riddling Sequence

1	OM:	*Crooked as a rainbow, teeth like a cat. Guess all your life; you'll never guess that.*
2	B1:	Let me see.
3	OM:	Crooked as a rainbow, teeth like a cat. Guess all your lifetime; you'll never guess that.

4 B2: I sure won't.

5 OM: Huh? You won't neither? What about you?

6 B2: A rainbow ain't crooked, and tooth can't…I don't know.

7 B1: I know. I done forgot.

8 OM: Teeth like a cat. Guess all your lifetime; you'll never guess that.

9 B1: I done forgot what they are. Something.

10 OM: *A blackberry briar*.

11 B1: Yeah

(Evans, 1973: 175)

(5.8) Riddling Sequence

1 OM: Well now, see can you guess this one. All right. *Round as a biscuit, deeper than a cup. All the king's men will never fill it up*.

2 B2: King's horses are something like that.

3 B1: Unh unh.

4 OM: All the king's horses and all the king's men will never fill it up. It's deeper than a cup. All right. Come on with it.

5 B2: I don't know. I done forgot about them now.

6 B1: I don't know.

7 OM: *Cotton basket with water*. It's filling up a cotton basket with water. Ha ha ha.

(Evans, 1973: 176)

(5.9) Riddling Sequence

1 OM: All right. Guess this one now. *Long legs, short thighs, bumpy back, and bully eyes*. Get it now.

2 B1: A camel?

3 OM: Long legs. Listen at it right good now. Long legs, short thigh, bumpy back, and bully eyes. Done forgot it?

4 B1: Unh huh.

5 B2: Is it a camel?

6 OM: Unh unh.

7 B2: I don't know.

8 OM: When you give it up, I'll tell you.

9 B2: I don't know.

10 B1: I sure don't.

11 OM: *A bullfrog*. Ha ha ha. See there. A bullfrog. Now you learned that one?

12 B1: Yeah.

(Evans, 1973: 177)

The transcription of these riddling events may be compared to the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" reproduced in (5.10) and (5.11).

(5.10) Challenge Sequence in "El Convento"

7 A: sí. que no tenía donde quedarse y vaina. y .h (0.2)

A: yeh. that he didn't have anywhere to stay and stuff and .h (0.2)

8 to:l mun- toda vaina todo lo hoteles ful. y toda vaina.

everyon–everything all the hotels full. and everything.

9 >y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<

>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<

10 ((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh

11 C: (0.8)((shrug))

12 A: en un cunvento. [hah

A: in a convent [hah

[

13 C: [((lip part))

(5.11) Challenge Sequence in "La Buseta"

29 A: quiere beber caña,

A: she wants to drink cane alcohol,

30 (0.8)

31 A: adivine dónde

A: guess where

32 (2.7)

33 E: donde la viuda

E: at the widow's place

34 (0.2)

35 A: >m¿a<

36 (1.2)

37 A: en una buseta (.) dando vu(h)uelt(h)a ha haha

A: in a bus (.) going arou(h)d in ci(h)rcles(h)a ha haha

38 [ha ha]

[

39 E: [((amazed] look))

Both riddling sequences (5.7), (5.8), and (5.9) and the challenge sequences (5.10) and (5.11) begin with a challenge to recipients to guess a missing piece of information, whereupon the challenger turns the floor over to the recipient. What the recipient does with the floor varies among these sequences. While challenge sequence recipient Eduardo in (5.11) provides a candidate response in line 33 as do riddle recipients B2 in line 4 of (5.8), B1 in line 2, and B2 in line 5 of (5.9), challenge recipient Carlos admits his ignorance early on in line 11 of (5.10). Riddle recipients B2 and B1 may similarly admit their ignorance as they do in lines 5 and 6 respectively in (5.8). When the recipients demonstrate their inability to provide the projected response, both the riddlers and challengers take the floor to reveal the answer. Riddler OM reveals the response in lines 7, 10, and 11 of riddling sequences (5.7), (5.8) and (5.9), respectively. Challenger Alejandro reveals that Gerg ended up staying in a convent in line 12 of (5.10), while Ana reveals that Patricia said she wants to drink cane alcohol on a city bus in line 37 of (5.11). Finally, riddle and challenge recipients provide the riddler/challenger with some sort of evaluative response. B1 responds "yeah" in line 11 of (5.7) and line 12 of (5.9). Similarly, in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" the recipients receive the challenge response with looks of amazement.

As may be seen in the foregoing analysis, Evans' (1973) transcription of these riddling sequences is structurally similar to the interactional execution of the

challenge sequences found in "El Convento" and "La Buseta." The similarities between these two interactional sequences raise significant questions, most notably: What role does the riddling sequence play in the telling of a story as occurs in "El Convento" and "La Buseta"? Chapter 6 attempts to answer this question, but first a more basic question is asked: What does the structural organization of riddling events contribute to the telling of a riddle? This question seems particularly motivated since Milner (Maranda, 1976:129-130) has observed that one of the principal differences between traditional proverbs and riddles is their execution. Both proverbs and riddles serve a common metaphorical function of describing one thing in terms of another. Yet, while proverbs, such as (5.12), present their content directly as an assertion of this relationship, riddles like (5.13) present their content as a question and answer exchange.

(5.12) Proverb:

"It is only the curlew that flies about and sings his own praise" (i.e., only this particular type of man boasts of his own deeds).

(5.13) Riddle

"Who is the fellow that flies about and praises his own name?"

"The curlew."

What motivates the riddlers to choose to present their metaphorical relationship in the riddle format over a direct assertion? How does the interactional question/answer organization of the riddle contribute to the riddle's functions? The following section attempts to answer these questions with an interactional account of the form and function of the riddling sequence.

5.4 The Interactional Organization of Riddling Events

5.4.1 The Structural Organization of Riddling Events

Those researchers who have discussed how riddles are actually told in situated interaction typically describe riddles as question-and-answer exchanges. Indeed, riddles are conventionally transcribed as such, as may be seen in (5.14).

(5.14) Riddle Formula as a Question and Answer Exchange

Q: What did the Indian chief say when his dog fell off the cliff?

A: Dog gone.

This question/answer exchange constitutes the 'riddle formula' (Chiaro, 1992; Dienhart,1998). The riddle formula consists of an initial text or 'precedent'

(Harries, 1971:379) and subsequent response or 'sequent' (ibid). By way of an example, (5.15) may be described as an initial precedent and subsequent sequent.

(5.15) Riddle Formula Structure

Precedent: What goes cluck-cluck bang?

Subsequent: A chicken in a minefield.

(5001 jokes, 1992: 157)

The riddle formula may accordingly be described in interactional terms as an adjacency pair sequence, as in Bauman (1996) on riddles as a literary device in riddle tales. In a first pair part the riddler poses a question or challenge that is resolved with the presentation of the second pair part response. Riddling sequences (5.7), (5.8), and (5.9) might accordingly have been produced as in (5.16), (5.17), and (5.18).

(5.16) Riddle Sequence as Adjacency Pair

FPP: Crooked as a rainbow, teeth like a cat. Guess all your life; you'll never guess that.

SPP: A blackberry briar.

(5.17) Riddle Sequence as Adjacency Pair

FPP: Round as a biscuit, deeper than a cup. All the king's men will never fill it up.

SPP: Cotton basket with water.

(5.18) Riddle Sequence as Adjacency Pair

FPP: Long legs, short thighs, bumpy back, and bully eyes.

SPP: A bullfrog.

As anyone who has ever participated in a riddle telling knows, however, riddle recipients rarely provide the correct response, as seen in (5.7), (5.8), and (5.9). Chiaro (1992) is more categorical when she states that "unlike most question/answer routines the riddle is always answered by the person who posed it in the first place" (p. 68). Indeed, Dienhart (1998) argues riddlers pose riddles precisely because they either know or suspect that the recipient does not know the answer. In (5.7), (5.8), and (5.9), unable to provide the riddle response, the riddle recipients are forced to make efforts either to locate the missing response or admit their ignorance. Riddle recipients B1 and B2 attempt to find the riddle's response in lines 2 and 8 of (5.9), reproduced in (5.19). B1 provides the candidate response ("A camel?") in line 2, which B2 echoes in line 5 ("Is it a camel?). The riddler

OM may notably be seen to support the recipients' search by stating in line 8 that he will reveal the answer when they give up.

(5.19) Riddling Search Sequence

2	B1:	A camel?
3	OM:	Long legs. Listen at it right good now. Long legs, short thigh, bumpy back, and bully eyes. Done forgot it?
4	B1:	Unh huh.
5	B2:	Is it a camel?
6	OM:	Unh unh.
7	B2:	I don't know.
8	OM:	When you give it up, I'll tell you.

In Conversation Analytic terms, the recipients' efforts to find the missing riddle response constitutes an insertion sequence between the riddle formula's first pair part precedent and second pair part sequent. Recipients are forced to open an insertion sequence either to attempt to locate the projected second pair part response or to admit their inability to do so. Finally, as may be seen in (5.7), (5.8), and (5.9), when the riddle recipient fails, the riddlers reveal the correct

response themselves, which is in turn evaluatively received by the recipient, sequence finally.

In sum, riddling sequences have dual structural organizations: a potential and an actual. On the one hand, the riddling event may potentially be executed as a question/answer adjacency pair, as in example (5.20), as a function of the riddle formula.

(5.20) Riddling Event's Potential Organization as an Adjacency Pair

Riddler: Precedent:	What did the Indian chief say when his dog fell off the cliff?
Riddlee: Sequent:	Dog gone.

Yet in practice, as seen in (5.7), (5.8) and (5.9), the riddle recipient is unable to provide the riddle response and is forced to initiate an insertion sequence, producing a three-part interactional organization as in (5.21).

(5.21) Riddling Event's Actual Interactional Organization

Riddler: Precedent

Riddlee: Insertion Search Sequence

Riddler: Sequent

As will be demonstrated the interactional organization of riddle telling events supports the riddle's functions.

5.4.2 Function: The Function of the Structural Organization of Riddling Events

The interactional organization of riddling events supports the riddle's evaluative functions of presenting something unexpected or surprising by: (1) marking the riddle response as problematic; and (2) manifestly demonstrating the riddle recipient's inability to provide or to guess the riddle response. By inducing the riddle recipients to initiate an insertion sequence in which they search for the missing riddle response, the riddle marks this response as 'problematic.' In Conversation Analytic terms, the intervening insertion sequence constitutes a repair sequence in which the riddle recipient attempts to locate a missing element of talk, the riddle formula's second pair part. In these functions, the insertion sequence is notably similar to word searches (Goodwin, 1987; Lerner, 1996). In

both the riddle formula's intervening insertion sequence and word searches, such as (5.22), participants suspend ongoing talk to search for a missing element.

(5.22) Word Search Sequence

L: he said, the thing thet– thet– sad about the uhm black uhm

(0.3)

P: Muslims,

L: Muslims, he said is that they don't realize…

Lerner describes these word searches as sequences that provide the recipients with conditional access to the current turn. Such sequences aid in the search for a missing element by providing candidate words that the speaker of record accepts or rejects in turn. While word searches may be promptly resolved, word searches may constitute extended repair sequences such as (5.23), taken from Goodwin (1987), in which participants alternate turns at talk in proposing and judging candidate elements.

(5.23) Word Search Sequence

1	Mikes:	I was watching Johnny Carson one night
2		en there was a guy by the na- *What* was

3		that guy's name. [Blake
		[
4	Curt:	[The Critic
5	Mike:	Blake?
6	Mike:	[No.
		[
7	Pam:	[A no-
8		(0.6)
9	Mike:	Rob[ert Blake?
		[
10	Pam:	[Reed?
11		(0.2)
12	Mike:	Er somp'n like 'at. [He was-
		[
13	Pam:	[Robert Reed.
14	Mike:	No:, [This guy's-
		[
15	Curt:	[No:, Rex Reed.
16	Curt:	[°( )
		[

17 Pam: [Rex Reed. [=Yuh.

[

18 Mike: [This guy's name was Blake,

19 (0.4) He was in the movie uh:, (0.6) In

20 Cold Blood

(Goodwin, 1987:115-116)

Goodwin (1987) also notes that while word searches constitute a means for interactants to locate missing elements of talk, in terms of the structural organization of talk these searches mark the missing element as 'problematic' and in need of some repair. In a similar fashion, the riddle recipient's intervening search for the riddle response marks this element as problematic in support of the riddle's function of presenting something. The riddle recipients are placed in the position of actively demonstrating that they are unable to locate the riddle response.

Ultimately, the riddle recipient's failure to provide the riddle response constitutes an evidential display of the surprising nature of the response. The recipient can provide no convincing evidence of the surprising nature of the riddle response other than being given an opportunity to provide or even guess the answer and failing. In a sense, the riddle recipient is induced into supporting the

riddler's goals of presenting something surprising by dramatically serving as a situated display of its surprising nature.

From a text-based perspective riddles are surprising because they establish unexpected conceptual or semantic links between two otherwise dissimilar texts, to be perceived by the recipient. In interactional terms, however, riddling events manifestly demonstrate the riddle response to be surprising by providing the recipient with the opportunity to provide the missing response and failing. In so doing, the recipient actively demonstrates that the riddle response is evaluatively surprising.

In interactional terms, the riddling event carries out noteworthy socio-interactional functions.

5.4.3 The Socio-Interactional Functions of Riddling

Just as previous text and teller-centered accounts of storytelling have been criticized for analyzing storytelling events as self-contained sequences outside of their interactional context, a similar critique may be extended to the analyses of riddles and riddling. While riddling sequences constitute well-defined, readily identifiable sequences that may be easily extracted from their context of production, such an analysis ignores why the riddle was told and the role that the

riddle's telling plays in the development of the participants' interaction. Telling a riddle, it will be argued, plays an important role in defining participants' activity as both competitive and a form of word play.

As previously noted, the riddle formula is structurally organized as potentially executable in an adjacency pair in two parts In his analysis of the structural organization of adjacency pairs, Sacks (1973) observes adjacency pairs are typically constructed to facilitate the recipient's ability to respond appropriately. This tendency manifests itself in the frequency with which initial speakers repair first pair parts that may pose some problem to the recipient's ability to respond unproblematically. As occurs in (5.24), following a failure for participant B to respond, A recasts his first pair part as 'nothing special?' to provide the recipient something with which to agree.

(5.24) Preference Organization Sequence

A: They have a good cook here?

((pause))

Nothing special?

B: No, everybody takes their turns.

(Sacks, 1973)

The riddle formula, by contrast, as described by both Dienhart (1998) and Chiaro (1992), is specifically designed to thwart the next speaker's ability to provide an appropriate second pair part response. The riddle formula, as such, constitutes an exception to what Sacks (1973) refers to as a 'preference for agreement.' Rather than attempting to align participants in a common understanding, or a form of 'intersubjectivity,' the riddle formula is designed to produced a situated failure in intersubjectivity. Green and Pepicello (1984) describe the role of riddling events in producing failures in intersubjectivity in terms of 'the phatic mode.'

> …the riddler poses questions in hopes of creating an unresolvable block between his message and the receiver -- the riddlee. In riddling, then, we invert the phatic mode, a serious interaction whose questions desire an affirmative response, to derive antiphatic questions designed to elicit a negative response either in the form of "I don't know" or a meaningful silence. (p. 13)

As previously stated, the resultant situated failure in intersubjectivity supports the riddle's evaluative functions of presenting something surprising by manifestly demonstrating that the recipient is neither able provide or guess the riddle response. In interactional terms, however, the riddling event defines the participants' activity as 'antiphatic' or 'competitive.' As described by Green and Pepicello, the goal of the riddling event is to force the recipient to fail. "[I]f the riddlee cannot answer the riddle successfully, the poser wins, while if the riddlee

does come up with the answer, he wins" (Bauman, 1996:70-71). Riddling events, then, constitute a notable exception to the typical tendency of interactionalists to pursue cooperative strategies while attempting to accommodate each other's interactional needs mutually. On the contrary, the riddlers pursue their interactional goals at the expense of the recipient by setting up the recipient to fail.

While constructing interaction as an adversarial relationship may seem to run contrary to interactional conventions of politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1978), competitive interaction may in fact be employed as an interactional resource for fostering rapport among interactionalists. Wordplay researchers have noted that word play is at times a competitive interactional event that supports participants' feelings of solidarity. In participating in forms of word play, including banter, puns, and allusion, participants frequently 'test' (Norrick, 1993) the recipient. In making an allusion, for example, the speaker tests the recipient's ability to follow the reference. In making a pun, the speaker tests the recipient's ability to grasp the word's double meaning. Similarly, in the telling of a riddle, the riddler tests the riddlee's ability to respond appropriately. Test another's behavior may constitute a threat to the recipient's negative face, desire for freedom of imposition, since the recipient may be placed in the position of publicly demonstrating a failure in competence. Tannen (1990) notes that

competitive interaction paradoxically may be employed as a means to bolster participants' feelings of solidarity. By threatening another participant's face, the speaker may send the message, "We share a intimate relationship beyond concerns of politeness." Word play in particular reduces the threat to the recipient's face and supports participants' feelings of rapport by defining the activity at hand as a form of 'play.' As described by Bateson (1956), interactional events, like word play, create the metacommunicative message "this is play."

The telling of a riddle may accordingly have significant socio-interactional implications. On the one hand, riddle telling defines participants' interaction as competitive. At that same time, the competitive nature of the participants' interaction may serve socio-interactional functions of supporting the participants' formation of solidarity.

5.5 Summary

The present chapter has developed an interactional account of riddles and riddling. Following a review of previous text-based analyses of the form and function of riddles, riddles are described as being interactionally produced in the execution of the riddle formula. Whereas the riddle formula has been characterized as a question-and-answer sequence, it was demonstrated that riddles

are specifically designed to produce an intervening insertion sequence in which the riddle recipient attempts to locate the missing riddle response before the riddlers reveal the correct response themselves. Notably, the resultant insertion sequence supports the riddle's evaluative functions of presenting something surprising by exploiting the recipient's failure to demonstrate that the riddle response is both problematic and manifestly surprising, since the recipient was given the opportunity but failed to provide the correct response. In interactional terms, the telling of riddles serves socio-interactional functions of defining the participants' interaction as competitive. The competitive nature of the interaction, however, does not necessarily constitute interaction as divisive and may actually serve as a means to foster participant rapport.

As observed in Section 5.3, riddling events are structurally identical to the challenge sequences found in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta." Accordingly, Chapter 6 applies the observations developed here on the form and function of riddling events to the analysis of the narrative and socio-interactional functions of the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta."

Chapter 6

"El Convento" and "La Buseta" : Challenge Sequence Tellings

6.1 Introduction

The present chapter attempts to answer the question previously posed in Chapter 4: What is the relationship between the form and function of "El Convento" and "La Buseta"? Otherwise stated, what motivates the storyteller to beginning these storytelling events with a challenge to the story recipient and how does this challenge contribute to the storytelling event's narrative and socio-interactional functions? It will be argued that challenge sequences tellings like "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are designed to support the storytelling's evaluative functions while also contributing to the participants' socio-interactional establishment of rapport.

This analysis begins with an examination of the evaluative functions of the challenge sequence.

6.2 The Challenge Sequence: Narrative Evaluative Functions

As previously described in Chapter 4, besides its functions as a chronological mechanism for depicting the passage of time, storytelling is an interpretive event in which its teller(s) develop an evaluative understanding of a particular set of events. The teller organizes and presents narrative elements so as to attribute some evaluative significance to their occurrence. In its function as a storytelling strategy in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," the challenge sequence supports this evaluative dimension by allowing the tellers to present their storytelling's central narrative event as particularly surprising.

6.2.1 Evaluative Focalization Mechanisms

As discussed in Chapter 3, among the evaluative techniques at the disposition of the storyteller, one of primary strategies is to exploit the storytelling event's production features to draw the recipient's attention to narrative elements the teller considers particularly noteworthy for their evaluative interpretation of the story's events. Polanyi (1985) has identified a series of these production features — here described as 'evaluative focalization mechanisms' — including phonetic, lexical, syntactic, and discursive elements. They underscore key

narrative elements by making these 'marked' (see Moravcsik & Wirth,1986, for a discussion of the linguistic concept of 'markedness') within the story's production. In Chapter 3, storyteller Dyanna made particularly effective use of evaluative focalization mechanisms to highlight the central narrative event in "Las Américas," Chiri's humiliation at the hands of a bus driver. Norrick (2000) similarly notes the evaluative production role of formulaic expressions, such as "He tried and he tried," to draw the recipient's attention to key narrative elements. Though not explicitly described as such, Labov's (1972) description of the role of non-event narrative clauses may be described as a form of evaluative focalization. By suspending the forward progression of narrative events with the inclusion of non-event narrative clauses, like that in (6.1), Labov argues that the teller produces an element of suspense to draw the recipient's attention.

(6.1) Evaluative Non-Event Narrative Clause

It was the strangest feeling because you couldn't tell if they were really gonna make it. (Labov, 1972:371)

These evaluative focalization mechanisms described by Polanyi, Norrick, and Labov share a common evaluative function of displacing key narrative elements into a position of salience within the story's organization where they are

offered up for the recipient's special evaluative consideration. The challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" may be said to serve a similar evaluative function of drawing the recipient's attention to these tellings' central narrative events, "Gerg stayed in a convent" and "Patricia said she wants to drink cane alcohol on a city bus," respectively, by marking these events as uniquely problematic.

Within CA research, problematization is typically associated with repair (see Chapter 2 for further discussion of repair), as in Jefferson's (1974) 'error correction format,' in which the speaker may mark an element as problematic to signal its replacement by a subsequent element. In (6.2), for example, the speaker Beth's cut-off following the element 'Terry' marks this element as both problematic and replaceable by the following element 'Jerry's.'

(6.2) Error Correction Format Sequence

Beth: Terry – Jerry's fascinated with elephants.

(Goodwin, 1984:230)

In his research on word searches already addressed in Chapter 5, Goodwin (1987) notes that the problematization of the missing element of the word search displaces this element into a position of discursive salience where, significantly, it

is highlighted for additional consideration. In the example previously cited in (5.23), here reproduced as (6.3), Goodwin notes that the speaker Mike's initiation of a word search for the name of his narrative's protagonist in line 2 allots this narrative element a privileged position within the story's organization.

(6.3) Word Search Sequence

1	Mike:	I was watching Johnny Carson one night
2		en there was a guy by the na- *What* was
3		that guy's name. [Blake
		[
4	Curt:	[The Critic
5	Mike:	Blake? (continues…)

While the problematization of narrative elements in a storytelling event may be employed simply to recover missing elements, in view of Goodwin's observations, problematization may constitute a potential storytelling strategy for highlighting key narrative elements. This highlighting occurs in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta," where the challenge sequences notably draw these tellings' central narrative events into evaluative focus.

As described in Chapter 5, the riddle formula is specifically designed to mark its response as problematic such that the riddle recipient's failure to produce the riddle response serves as an evidential display of its surprising nature. As a storytelling strategy, however, the analogous challenge sequence may be said to draw these tellings' central narrative events into evaluative focus by marking them as problematic. Indeed, the assertion that the challenge sequence serves evaluative functions based on the problematization of its referent finds support in the details of "El Convento" and "La Buseta." In these tellings the tellers may be seen to exploit parallel problematization mechanisms around their stories' central narrative events. In "El Convento," Alejandro notably first problematizes where Gerg stayed in propositional terms.

(6.4) "El Convento" : Problematization through Propositional Means

2 A: [be.]>uste supo que Ge:rg< (.) °cuando llegó a Italia°

A: *[good. >you knew that Gerg< (.) °when he arrived in Italy°*

4 que – >que no tenía en donde< – que[darse]

that – >that he didn't have anywhere – to [stay]

[

4 C: [epa.]

[hey]

5		así fue siempre
		It's always been that way
6		(.)
7	A:	sí. que no tenía donde quedarse y vaina. y .h (0.2)
	A:	*yeh. that he didn't have anywhere to stay and stuff and .h (0.2)*
8		to:l mun- toda vaina todo lo hoteles ful. y toda vaina.
		everyon– everything all the hotels full. and everything.
9		>y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<
		>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<
10		((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh

As seen in (6.4), Alejandro begins by describing Gerg as having no reservations and no place to stay and that all the hotels were full in lines 2 through 8. This description creates the propositional problem, "Where did Gerg stay?" The problematic nature of where Gerg stayed is confirmed when Alejandro explicitly challenges Carlos to guess this fact in line 9.

Similarly, in "La Buseta," Ana problematizes what Patricia said through a series of production disfluencies. As described in Chapter 4, Ana's story initiation is constituted as a functional challenge to the recipient when Ana begins

by saying she is going to present something her roommate Patricia said but then does not. As seen in (6.5), Ana marks Patricia's comments as problematic first in line 2 by producing a (1.4) second turn-internal gap in the syntactic slot allotted for what Patricia said. Rather than revealing what Patricia said she wants to do subsequently, Ana recycles the syntactic slot designated for this piece of information following the relative pronoun *que* in line 2 but again leaves this slot empty with a (1.0) second turn-internal gap. When she does subsequently fill this slot, she further underspecifies what Patricia says she wants to do as *algo* 'something.'

(6.5) "La Buseta" : Problematization through Production Features

1	A:	((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <po sí po sí po sí>. tú sabes que
	A:	*((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <well yes well yes well yes> you know that*
2		Patricia me dice (1.4) que (1.0) que ten(h)ía ganas de hacer algo:
		Patricia told me (1.4) that (1.0) that sh(h)e wanted to do something:
3		ha [ha ha ha]
		[
4	E:	[algo difer]ente?
	E:	*[something differ]ent?*

5		(.)
6	A:	e(h) si(hi) (0.2) .ha coroto muy dif(h)erente(h)ehehe
	A:	*e(h) ye(h)s (0.2) .ha something very diff(h)erent(h)ehehe*
7		(.)
8	E:	[por]qué
	E:	*[why]*
		[
9	A:	[.hh]
10		(.)
11	A:	si no viene un agente no va na:
	A:	*if a policeman does come nothing will happen:*
12		(.)
13	E:	un piyama padi?
E:		*a pajama party?*

In a manner analogous to the cut-off in Jefferson's error correction format in (6.2), these turn-internal gaps mark the missing element of talk as problematic. Ultimately, Ana fails to reveal what Patricia said altogether in line 3 when she abandons her turn at talk in a series of laugh tokens. While the recipient makes efforts to recover this narrative element in lines 4 ("[algo diferente?") and 8 ("[por qué"), Ana's unrevealing responses in lines 6 ("e(h) si(hi) (0.2) .ha coroto muy

dif(h)erente(h)ehehe") and 11 ("si no viene un agente no va na:") leaves Patricia's comments as problematic as ever. Notably it is the presence of these parallel problematization features of Ana's talk that cause the recipient to orient to Ana's story initiation as a functional challenge, as evidenced by his presentation of a candidate response in line 13 ("un piyama padi").

The concurrence of these parallel problematization mechanisms around the central narrative events of both "El Convento" and "La Buseta" tends to support the claim that their challenge sequences are similarly designed to problematize these key narrative events and displace them into a position of evaluative salience.

6.2.2 Evaluative Suspense

Notably, a similar analysis of the evaluative functions of the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" may be developed in terms of Labov's (1972) notion of 'suspense.' By suspending the forward progression of the narrative sequence just prior to the presentation of the central narrative event, the challenge sequence creates an element of suspense around this event that draws the recipient's evaluative attention. As seen in (6.6), in "El Convento," Alejandro's challenge initiation in line 9 cuts short the presentation of where Gerg

stayed. As previously analyzed, Alejandro presentation of the story's setting (Gerg is in Italy with no place to stay; all the hotels are full) in lines 2 through 8 has already created the problem "Where did Gerg stay?" in thematic terms. Rather than solving this problem with the presentation of this key narrative event, Alejandro suspends the narrative progression by challenging Carlos to guess where Gerg stayed in line 9.

(6.6) "El Convento" : The Challenge Sequence and Suspense

2	A:	[be.]>uste supo que Ge:rg< (.) °cuando llegó a Italia°
	A:	*[good. >you knew that Gerg< (.) °when he arrived in Italy°*
5		que – >que no tenía en donde< – que[darse]
		that – >that he didn't have anywhere – to [stay]
		[
4	C:	[epa.]
		[hey]
5		así fue siempre
		It's always been that way
6		(.)
7	A:	sí. que no tenía donde quedarse y vaina. y .h (0.2)
	A:	*yeh. that he didn't have anywhere to stay and stuff and .h (0.2)*
8		to:l mun- toda vaina todo lo hoteles ful. y toda vaina.

everyon– everything all the hotels full. and everything.

9 >y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<

>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<

Alejandro's challenge initiation effectively arrests the narrative's chronological progression to turn the floor over to the recipient.

Similarly, Ana's challenge to Eduardo in line 31 to guess where Patricia wants to drink cane alcohol suspends the forward progression of the narrative sequence, as may be seen in (6.7). Ana's exploitation of the arresting functions of the challenge sequence is particularly noteworthy, since she uses an additional production element to further suspend the telling's forward progression. In lines 29 and 31, Ana both reinitiates the narrative sequence and then suspends it again. The narrative sequence was previously suspended in an insertion sequence in lines 15 through 24 in which Ana and Eduardo discuss the relative merits of Eduardo's guess that Patricia wants to have a pajama party. Eduardo closes this insertion sequence in line 26 by returning to what Patricia said she wants to do. Ana's assertion in line 29, as such, reinitiates the narrative sequence by providing a subsequent narrative element. Rather than providing further narrative details, however, Ana promptly suspends the narrative progression to challenge Eduardo in line 31 to make a guess.

(6.7) "La Buseta" : The Challenge Sequence and Suspense

26	E:	y qué quiere hacer entonces. nos disfrace[mos] o algo así?
	E:	*and what does she want to do then. we get disgui[sed] or something like that*
		[
27	A:	[no.]
28		(1.4)
29	A:	quiere beber caña,
	A:	*she wants to drink cane alcohol,*
30		(0.8)
31	A:	adivine dónde
	A:	*guess where*
32		(2.7)
33	E:	donde la viuda
	E:	*at the widow's place*

Alejandro produces a similar narrative suspense effect in "El Convento" most notably through the extra-linguistic means of his gaze and a series of pencil

taps on the table in front of him immediately following his challenge to Carlos in line 9, as seen in (6.8).

(6.8) "El Convento" : Parallel Suspense Creation

7 A: sí. que no tenía donde quedarse y v↑aina. y↓ .h (0.2)

8 ↑to:l mun- toda vaina todo lo hoteles ful. y toda vaina.

9 >y↓ a que no sabe dónde se quedó<

10 ((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh

As previously noted in Chapter 2, Kendon (1967) has demonstrated that conversationalists may regulate their access to the floor through both their talk and physical displays. By averting their gaze turn-initially, speakers signal their intent to occupy the floor for an extended turn at talk. Conversely, by turning their gaze to another participant, the speakers may signal their intention to abandon the floor to the recipient of their gaze. Even as Alejandro's challenge in line 9 designates Carlos as next speaker, Alejandro withholds his gaze turn finally, at which point he makes a series of pencil taps on the table in front of him. Only on the last of these pencil taps does Alejandro look up at Carlos. In so doing, Alejandro temporarily holds on to the floor following the challenge initiation, further delaying the recipient's opportunity to respond and creating additional suspense.

While we do not know precisely why Alejandro chooses to retain the floor temporarily with his series of pencil taps, one possible explanation is that in this way he is able to create suspense, even in the face of the possibility that Carlos may immediately admit his ignorance. As noted by Dienhart (1998) riddlers run the risk that the recipients may make no effort to find the missing response and simply claim ignorance. By withholding his gaze, Alejandro may be attempting to ensure the creation of suspense around the central narrative event despite Carlos' potential early admission of ignorance.

Like non-event narrative clauses in Labov's (1972) analysis, the challenge initiations in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" suspend the forward progression of the narrative sequence and, as such, produce an evaluative element of suspense. It is particularly noteworthy that in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta," suspense is centered around these tellings' central narrative event. Thus the challenge sequence is seen as a suspense-creating mechanism to draw the recipient's attention to the narrative's key narrative event. It should be noted, however, that while non-event narrative clauses create suspense against the recipient's expectation of how narratives progress, the challenge sequence produces an additional element of suspense through the interactional organization of the challenge sequence. As based on an adjacency pair organization, the challenge sequence's first pair part challenge projects and makes conditionally relevant the

appearance of the second pair part response; in this case these tellings' central narrative event. In this way the suspense around the central event grows still greater. The teller exploits the predictability of adjacency pair second pair parts to increase the suspense around the story's central narrative event.

Whether one chooses to view this sequence as an evaluative focalization mechanism based on the problematization of its missing element or as a suspense-creation mechanism, the evaluative effect is the same: the challenge sequences in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta" draw these tellings' central narrative events into evaluative focus where they are held up for the recipient's evaluative consideration. These challenge sequences constitute an evaluative production strategy by which the tellers are able to point out the key evaluative element of their story.

The challenge sequence, however, may be said to serve evaluative functions in propositional terms.

6.2.3 The Challenge Sequence and the Evaluative Stance of Being 'Surprising'

Outside of the production features or how they produce their tellings, storytellers may develop the evaluative stance of their story in propositional terms by what they say. As noted in Chapter 3, Labov observes storytellers may

explicitly assert their evaluative stance as a form of 'external evaluation' as in (6.1) above where the teller states "It was the strangest feeling." Or tellers may illustrate their evaluative stance in an 'evaluative action,' such as (6.9), where the teller characterizes the event as 'frightening' by revealing she felt the need to pray.

(6.9) Evaluative Action

I never prayed to God so fast and so hard in my life! (Labov, 1972:373)

The challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" might similarly be considered a form of 'evaluative action' as based on what the tellers themselves are doing. By challenging the recipient to guess the central narrative event, the tellers signal to the recipient their understanding that this event is evaluatively surprising. The challenge sequence as such constitutes a form of cultural shorthand that allows the teller to tap the recipient's knowledge of the functions of riddles and challenges as a mechanism for revealing something unexpected to characterize the missing central narrative event evaluatively as surprising. In these evaluative functions the challenge sequences are particularly unique. While previously identified evaluative strategies, including the

exploitation of production features and propositional external evaluation and evaluative actions, may be associated with a wide range of possible evaluative understandings, the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are uniquely identified with the presentation of evaluatively 'surprising' events.

In sum, what do the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" contribute to the evaluative development of these narrative sequences? They act as both evaluative focalization mechanisms for drawing the recipient's attention to the central narrative events and evaluative devices for characterizing these events as particularly surprising. Otherwise stated, the challenge sequence allows the tellers both to present their story's central narrative event dramatically and to signal to the recipient that the teller considers this event as extraordinary. By challenging the story recipients to guess where Gerg stayed and what Patricia wants to do in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," respectively, Alejandro and Ana tell their recipients to pay particular attention to these missing surprising events.

6.3 Interactive Storytelling

It should be noted that the foregoing analysis of the evaluative functions of challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is consistent with previous monologic, teller-centered accounts of storytelling that highlight the

central role of the teller in producing the event. From this perspective, the tellers of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" exploit the challenge sequence to highlight the evaluative significance of their tellings' central narrative event while creating an element of suspense around this event. As storytelling devices, challenge sequences are in this sense no different from story prefaces such as (6.10) below, in which the teller both problematizes and evaluatively characterizes the subject of their coming story as surprising.

(6.10) Problematizing Story Preface Sequence

> You'll never guess what happened to me this morning. I was walking down the street when…

What distinguishes the challenge sequences found in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" from (6.10), however, is the interactive organization of the challenge sequence. The tellers of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" actually relinquish the floor to the recipients to give them an opportunity either to provide or to guess the missing central narrative event. As described in Chapter 5, the recipient has the sequence-final right to take the floor again to evaluate the subject of the challenge. As a storytelling strategy, the challenge sequence accordingly transforms these tellings into increasingly interactive storytelling events on par

with previously identified co-constructive forms of storytelling, including recipient-driven tellings, co-narration, and collaborative tellings, that directly implicate the recipient in the story's production. This transformation, it is argued, has a profound effect on both how the telling carries out its evaluative dimension and the socio-interactional functions it accomplishes. In the following section, the challenge sequence is initially described as altering these tellings' 'participation organization' to allot an increasingly active role to the recipient.

6.3.1 The Challenge Sequence and the Telling's Participation Organization

As outlined in Chapter 3, storytelling, like other communicative events, organizes its participants in socially significant 'participation organizations,' in which participants assume identities according to their activity-specific rights and responsibilities. At the dominantly single-voice end of the storytelling continuum described by Blum-Kulka (1993), monologic storytelling events organize their participants into two camps: 'tellers' and 'recipients.' In this organization storytellers enjoy rights to the floor for an extended telling while being responsible for producing a telling consistent with culture-specific notions of storytelling. Monologic story recipients, for their part, are responsible for

supporting the monologic storyteller's primary production while enjoying the right and responsibility to receive the telling story-finally in a response sequence, as described by Sacks (1974). By contrast, polyphonic tellings, like Norrick's (2000) "Poodle" storytelling sequence presented in Chapter 3, make no such categorical distinction between the rights and responsibilities of participants, as noted by Ochs (1997). Participants may act as 'co-narrators' that flow in and out of the teller role freely.

Notably these varying participation organizations may also be associated with certain storytelling advantages and disadvantages for their participants. The participation organization of monologic storytelling events favors the tellers' rights to develop their narrative and its evaluative stance relatively independently of interference from recipients, yet at the same time allots a minimal role to recipients. Interactive forms of storytelling, by contrast, promote the participation of all participants and, as noted by Norrick (2000), thus promote the participants' formation of solidarity. But interactive forms of storytelling limit the ability of any one participant to direct the course of the narrative, as demonstrated in Ochs' "The Detention Story" where the evaluative significance of the initial narrator Lucy was radically altered by her younger brother's introduction of the narrative detail that Lucy had served detention herself.

The role of the challenge sequences as an interactional event in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is particularly noteworthy in that the sequences transform the participation organizations of these tellings. They notably begin as relatively monologic storytelling events. The teller is squarely in control of the storytelling event, having gained access to the floor in a pair of story preface organizations that are striking for their multi-modal structural organization, as described in Chapter 4. Both tellers exercise their rights as storytellers by beginning to provide the narrative's background information ('Gerg had no place to stay in Italy' and 'Patricia said she wanted to do something') in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," respectively. The recipients, for their part, assume their role by receiving these stories. This fact is somewhat obscured on an initial observation of these tellings since both the recipients make early interventions in the storytelling events. As seen in (6.11) of "El Convento" the recipient Carlos takes the floor in lines 4 and 5 to assert that Gerg has always traveled without reservations.

(6.11) "El Convento" : Early Recipient Intervention

2 A: [be.]>uste supo que Ge:rg< (.) °cuando llegó a Italia°

A: [good. >you knew that Gerg< (.) °when he arrived in Italy°

6 que – >que no tenía en donde< – que[darse]

that – >that he didn't have anywhere – to [stay]

[

4 C: [epa.]

[hey]

5 así fue siempre

It's always been that way

Similarly, in (6.12) from "La Buseta," Eduardo takes the floor in line 4 to request further information shortly into the initiation of this story sequence ("algo diferente?", '*something different?'*).

(6.12) "La Buseta" : Early Recipient Intervention

1 A: ((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <po sí po sí po sí> . tú sabes que

A: ((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <well yes well yes well yes> you know that

2 Patricia me dice (1.4) que (1.0) que ten(h)ía ganas de hacer algo:

Patricia told me (1.4) that (1.0) that sh(h)e wanted to do something:

3 ha [ha ha ha]

		[
4	E:	[algo difer]ente?
	E:	*[something differ]ent?*

While these early recipient interventions may appear to call into question the relevance of a monologic participation organization, their details in fact betray the recipients' recognition of the tellers' central claim on the floor. In "El Convento," Carlos prefaces his intervention in line 4 with the marker *epa* ('*hey*'). While exclamations such as *epa* are frequently employed as 'disjunctive markers' (Jefferson, 1978) or 'explicit topic changes' (Planalp & Tracy, 1980) to license an abrupt shift in topic, Carlos demonstrates they may be employed to license an action not predicted by the participation organization. In "La Buseta," Eduardo similarly recognizes Ana's primary claim to the floor by withholding his intervention during Ana's disfluent turn in lines 2 and 3. Despite the two significant intra-turn gaps in line 2, Carlos does not take the floor until Ana has demonstrably finally abandoned the floor in line 3 in a series of laugh tokens. In so doing, these recipients recognize a monologic participation organization is in play.

The initiation of the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," however, transforms this monologic participation organization by

attributing an increasingly active role to the recipient in the stories' production. In challenging Carlos to guess where Gerg stayed in line 9 of "El Convento," Alejandro explicitly projects two turns at talk minimally for Carlos within the body of the storytelling itself, once to respond to the challenge and once to evaluatively receive its response. In "La Buseta," by contrast, Eduardo sees his role incrementally increased as he attempts to help Ana describe what Patricia said she wants to do. He initially takes the floor in line 4 ("algo diferente?" '*something different?'*) to request further information and again in line 8 ("por qué" '*why'*) when Ana response somewhat obliquely in line 6 ("e(h) si(hi) (0.2) .ha coroto muy dif(h)erente(h)ehehe" '*e(h) ye(h)s (0.2) .ha something very diff(h)erent(h)ehehe*'). When Ana's response in line 11 ("si no viene un agente no va na:" *'if a policeman doesn't come nothing will happen:'*) does not reveal what Patricia wants to do, Eduardo assumes the role of the challengee by providing an initial candidate response in line 13 ("un piyama padi?" '*a pajama party'*). Upon critiquing Eduardo's guess in line 17 (">es[o – eso – esa< e comú:n' '*>tha[t – that – that<'s commo:n*") as too common, Ana affiliates with Eduardo's interpretation of his role and, as such, projects yet another participation slot for Eduardo in which he must evaluatively receive the challenge response once it is revealed.

These challenge sequences, whether explicitly produced as in "El Convento" or initially functionally constituted as in "La Buseta," fundamentally transform the participation organization of these tellings to incorporate the recipient as an active participant in the story's production. Carlos and Eduardo go from relatively passive recipients to active participants, called upon to provide and subsequently receive a key piece of narrative content evaluatively. In so doing, the challenge sequence advances these storytellings down the continuum of storytelling organizations towards recently discovered polyphonic organizations like Mandelbaum's (1987) recipient-driven tellings, Ochs' (1992) co-narrative storytelling events, and Norrick's (2000) collaborative retellings.

In their role as a transformational device for the participation organization of these storytelling events, parallels may once again be drawn between these challenge sequences and word searches as described by Goodwin (1987). Goodwin, it will be recalled, argues that word searches problematize their referent, thus displacing this element into a position of discursive salience. The analogous problematization of the central narrative event in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" has been argued here to displace this key narrative event into evaluative focus. Goodwin, however, notes word searches carry out significant socio-interactional functions of transforming the participation organization of the ongoing communicative event by incorporating the recipient(s) as active

participant(s). By designating recipients as a potential source of information, as in (6.3) above, the primary speaker augments the recipients' production role within the communicative event. In this sense both word searches and challenge sequences constitute interactional resources primary speakers may employ to alter the prevailing participation organization, thereby more fully integrating the recipient in the production of talk.

If challenge sequences and word searches share the common capacity to transform the participation organization of storytelling events, the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" notably distinguish themselves in one respect: these sequences seem designed to 'surprise' the recipient with their new storytelling role. This feature is particularly evident in "El Convento," where Alejandro quickly transforms participants' roles in an accelerated challenge in line 9. Whereas as Alejandro's previous talk in lines 7 and 8 is produced at a moderate tempo, his challenge in line 9 is produced in an increased tempo (symbolically indicated by the inclusion of the symbols ><).

(6.13) "El Convento" : Surprising Participation Shift

7	A:	sí. que no tenía donde quedarse y vaina. y .h (0.2)
	A:	*yeh. that he didn't have anywhere to stay and stuff and .h (0.2)*
8		to:l mun- toda vaina todo lo hoteles ful. y toda vaina.

everyon– everything all the hotels full. and everything.

9 >y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<

>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<

Alejandro 'surprises' Carlos by shifting his storytelling role from receiving to providing this story's central narrative event.

In "La Buseta," by contrast, Ana does not explicitly alter the telling's participation organization in a direct challenge but rather forces Eduardo to assume a more active role in the story's production by effectively abandoning the teller role in a series of disfluent and propositionally uninformative turns at talk. Eduardo is surprised to find his role pass from recipient to the driving force behind the teller, analogous to the recipients in Mandelbaum's recipient-driven tellings.

Whether the recipients are surprised by their new storytelling role or not, however, word searches and challenge sequences constitute a unique solution to one of the interactional problems facing storytellers. Storytellers typically require an extended turn at talk to develop their narratives; however, the teller's primary claim to the floor produces a relatively asymmetrical participation organization that restricts the recipient's interactional options. Several interactional solutions to this problem have already been noted. As described by Sacks (1974),

storytellers may seek to reduce the potentially harmful interactional effects of storytelling by eliciting the recipient's permission in a story preface. Conversely, storytellers may trade off primary control of the floor in a series of storytelling events in a story round. Finally, storytellers may seek to produce their tellings as interactive events that incorporate all participants, as occurs in co-narrated events like recipient-driven tellings and collaborative fantasies. As storytelling strategies, word searches and challenge sequences support this last option: the storyteller transforms the storytelling event into an increasingly symmetrical event by incorporating the recipient into the story's production.

6.3.2 The Role of the Recipient

The foregoing section has analyzed the challenge sequence as an interactional transformational device that attributes an increasingly active role to the recipient in the story's production. But what precisely is the recipient's role? The role of the recipients in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is particularly noteworthy in that it breaks with the common characterization in interactive accounts of storytelling. In these accounts, collaborative participants provide additional narrative elements. According to Sacks' (1974) analysis, recipients are described as providing the interactional slot for the telling's production and,

subsequently, an evaluative response in the response sequence that either affiliates or disaffiliates itself with the teller's own evaluative stance. Recipients in recipient-driven telling similarly provide key narrative elements through their elicitations. Co-narrators, as in Norrick's "Poodle" story presented in Chapter 3, likewise provide additional narrative elements and evaluative stances in their turns at talk that contribute the story's overall evaluative interpretation. Even Goodwin's story recipients in (6.3) are similarly described as contributing to the telling by helping the teller locate the name of the story protagonist.

The recipients of "El Convento" and "La Buseta," by contrast, contribute to the evaluative stance of these tellings most notably by failing to provide their central narrative events. By way of a contrast with the role Goodwin (1987) has attributed to word searches as a storytelling strategy, in which tellers open up the floor to recipients to provide a missing piece of narrative content (Dienhart,1998), challengers challenge recipients precisely because they know or suspect that the challenge recipients do not know the requested information. In effect, in "El Convento" Alejandro explicitly states he does not believe Carlos knows the missing piece of information in his challenge in line 9 (">y↓ a que no sabe dónde se quedó<").[6] The tellers of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" open the floor to

[6] It is particularly noteworthy here how Alejandro sets up a distinction between what Carlos knows in line 2 ("[be. >uste supo que Ge:rg< (.) °cuando llegó a Italia° que – >que no tenía en donde< – que[dares") and what he does not in his challenge in line 9.

recipients not to play the role of a source of narrative content but rather to play the 'anti-role' of demonstrating what in fact they do not know.

Even if somewhat coerced and certainly not the collaborative recipient typically represented in interactional accounts of storytelling, the recipients of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" nevertheless play a key role. In failing, the recipient exceptionally provides an immediate, situated display of the teller's evaluative stance. As previously developed in Sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, and 6.2.3, in initiating the challenge sequence the tellers support their evaluative stance by drawing the central narrative event into evaluative focus as a problematic element. Such action produces an element of suspense around the presentation of the element and, in propositional terms, evaluatively characterizes this event as 'surprising.' Yet if the teller asserts that the central narrative event is problematic and surprising, it is the recipients who demonstrate that the event is such through their actions. By failing, the recipient actively problematizes the central narrative event, suspends its presentation, and provides a situated evidential display of its surprising nature.

As previously developed in Chapter 5, adjacency pairs like the challenge sequence set up a relationship of conditional relevance. By initiating the first pair part of the challenge sequence, the challenger projects the immediate appearance of the sequence's second pair part by the recipient. Strategically unable to

provide the projected response, however, the recipients are forced to take a series of actions, including delaying their response to take time to consider the problem, asking for further information, or providing a candidate response. While these actions allow the recipient to attempt to respond, they at once mark the missing second pair part, the challenge response, as problematic. As may be seen in (6.14) from "El Convento," while Alejandro asserts that where Gerg stayed on his trip is problematic in line 9, it is Carlos' failed uptake in line 11, seen in a (0.8) second uptake delay and shrugged admission of ignorance, that immediately problematizes this element in the situated context.

(6.14) "El Convento" : Recipient Problematization

9	A:	>y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<
		>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<
10		((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh
11	C:	(0.8)((shrug))

Similarly, as may be seen in (6.15) from "La Buseta," while Ana's challenge to Carlos in line 31 demonstrates her understanding of this event as problematic, it is crucially Eduardo's failure to locate the challenge response, demonstrating significant uptake delays in lines 32 and 36 and a failed candidate response in line 33, that actively demonstrates that this element is problematic.

(6.15) "La Buseta" : Recipient Problematization

29	A:	quiere beber caña,
	A:	*she wants to drink cane alcohol,*
30		(0.8)
31	A:	adivine dónde
	A:	*guess where*
32		(2.7)
33	E:	donde la viuda
	E:	*at the widow's place*
34		(0.2)
35	A:	>m¿a<
36		(1.2)
37	A:	en una buseta (.) dando vu(h)uelt(h)a ha haha
	A:	*in a bus (.) going arou(h)d in ci(h)rcles(h)a ha haha*
38		[ha ha]

The failure of these recipients to provide the projected challenge response marks the central narrative event as problematic and, as discussed in Section

6.2.1, draws this event into evaluative focus where it is held up for the recipient's special evaluative consideration.

At the same time, the challenge sequence serves as an interactive suspense-creating mechanism. The teller's challenge initially produces an element of suspense around the central narrative event by delaying the forward progression of the narrative sequence to give the recipient an opportunity to provide or guess this key event. It is also the recipient's ongoing failure to provide the challenge response that suspends the progression of the telling event from that point forward. In "El Convento," Carlos suspends the telling a relatively short period of time by quickly admitting his ignorance in line 11 after a (0.8) second uptake delay. In "La Buseta," by contrast, Eduardo suspends the telling's progression with his repeated offerings of candidate responses and significant uptake delays, most notably in line 32 where Eduardo delays his response for (2.7) seconds. As was the case with the challenge sequence's role as an evaluative focalization mechanism, whatever the recipient does short of providing the projected response serves only to further forestall the central narrative event's appearance and, accordingly, produces further suspense around this event.

Finally, in thematic terms, the recipient's failure to provide the challenge sequence response may be said to provide a situated evidential display of the

surprising nature of this event. While tellers Alejandro and Ana assert that what the story's protagonist did is surprising by embedding this act in the challenge sequence, the recipients actively demonstrate the surprising nature of this event by failing to predict what their friends might do. In failing, the recipients substantiate the teller's claims to presenting something extraordinary by actively demonstrating that this event lies outside their expectations and even their ability to guess.

Whereas in previous accounts of interactive storytelling recipients have frequently been described as collaborative participants who contribute by providing additional narrative elements, the recipients of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" most notably contribute to the evaluative stances of these tellings by failing to provide narrative content. As described in Chapter 3, oral narrative evaluative strategies are described exclusively from the perspective of the teller. Tellers develop their evaluative stances through both the production features of their telling and the propositional elements they include in the narrative. In this sense, these strategies are teller-initiated/teller-executed strategies. The challenge sequence's role in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as an evaluative device, by contrast, is initiated by the teller but significantly carried out by the recipient. The challenge sequence, as such, constitutes a teller-initiated, recipient-executed

interactive evaluative strategy that directly implicates the recipient in the telling's evaluative stance.

Indeed, the challenge sequence's role in implicating the recipient in the telling's evaluative stance is supported in the details of "El Convento" and "La Buseta," where tellers Ana and Alejandro may be seen to organize their recipiency displays following the initial challenge to highlight the story recipients' failure to provide an adequate response. As may be seen in line 35 from "La Buseta," Ana minimally receives Eduardo's guess with the phonetically reduced negation marker ">m-a<."

(6.16) "La Buseta": Recipiency Display as Accusation of Recipient Failure

29	A:	quiere beber caña,
	A:	*she wants to drink cane alcohol,*
30		(0.8)
31	A:	adivine dónde
	A:	*guess where*
32		(2.7)
33	E:	donde la viuda
	E:	*at the widow's place*

34		(0.2)
35	A:	>m¿a<
36		(1.2)
37	A:	en una buseta (.) dando vu(h)uelt(h)a ha haha
	A:	*in a bus (.) going arou(h)d in ci(h)rcles(h)a ha haha*

This minimal response is notably similar to backchannel markers or 'continuers,' such as "uh huh" and "mm hm," used by recipients to mark their role as the recipient of the speaker of record's ongoing talk. By responding with a continuer, Ana animates herself as the recipient of Eduardo's ongoing unsuccessful effort to locate the telling's central narrative event. In essence, she exploits the continuer to create the interactional meaning 'I'm waiting,' thus animating Eduardo as the source of the sequence's failure.

In a similar fashion, Alejandro highlights his role as the recipient during the challenge sequence through his use of gaze. As previously discussed, Alejandro makes strategic use of his gaze following the challenge initiation to forestall the recipient's ability to respond and then to produce an additional element of suspense. As seen in (6.17), however, at the end of line 10 Alejandro turns and holds a constant gaze on Carlos over the course of Carlos' turn at talk in

line 11. As such, Alejandro similarly animates himself as the eager recipient to Carlos' silence.

(6.17) "El Convento" : Recipiency Display as Accusation of Recipient Failure

9		>y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<
		>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<
10		((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh
11	C:	(0.8)((shrug))

These recipiency displays are noteworthy for how they allow the tellers of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" to highlight the recipients' failure to provide the central narrative event and, in this sense, directly implicate them in the evaluative interpretation of these events as particularly surprising.

If the challenge recipient is initially induced into demonstrating the surprising nature of these tellings' central narrative events, following the revelation of the central narrative event, the recipients play the increasingly active role of providing their own evaluative interpretation of this key narrative event. As may be seen in (6.18) and (6.19) in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta" the challenge recipient receives these tellings' central narrative events as particularly surprising with open mouth gasps.

(6.18) "El Convento" : Recipient Uptake

12	A:	en un cunvento. [hah
	A:	*in a convent [hah*
		[
13	C:	[((lip part))

(6.19) "La Buseta"

37	A:	en una buseta (.) dando vu(h)uelt(h)a ha haha
	A:	*in a bus (.) going arou(h)d in ci(h)rcles(h)a ha haha*
38		[ha ha]
		[
39	E:	[((amazed] look))

As Sacks' (1974) has described in his analysis of story response sequences, the recipient's evaluative uptake has the force of either affiliating with or disaffiliating from the evaluative stance advanced by the teller. Through their positive evaluative uptakes, the recipients of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" demonstrate that they share the tellers' interpretation of these events as

extraordinary and, as such, consolidate the evaluative stance that these tellings present something truly surprising.

The transformation of the participation organization carried out by these challenge sequences is noteworthy for the socio-interactional functions it carries out in these storytelling events.

6.3.3 The Challenge Sequence's Socio-Interactional Consequences

The challenge sequence's role as a transformational device for the participation organization of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is particularly noteworthy for the consequences this transformation has for the socio-interactional functions of these tellings. Whereas monologic forms of storytelling carry functions centered around the teller, including the role of storytelling as a problem solving activity for the teller (Abelson, 1976; Schank & Abelson, 1977; Schank, 1982), the teller's representation of a public construction of self (Miller, Potts, Fung, Hoogstra, & Mintz, 1990), and a demonstration of the teller's narrative skills, interactive storytelling organizations carry out functions centered around both tellers and recipients in which participants negotiate their interpersonal relationships. Norrick (2000) notes that interactive storytelling

organizations contribute to participants' formation of solidarity. The increased level of interactional intensity produces an interactive storytelling event that fosters participant rapport. At the same time, the storytelling event constitutes a joint sense-making activity in which participants align themselves around common interpretations. Interactive storytelling events, such as Norrick's (2000) "Poodle" retelling, frequently topicalize the participants' common knowledge of events that highlights their common in-group membership. In interactive storytelling events, participants frequently jointly construct public representations of their social groups, as in "Poodle" in which participants portray themselves as belonging to a social group in which funny things occur. Norrick (2000) argues that increasingly interactive forms of storytelling play a significant role in how participants foster the formation of rapport.

Our challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" also play a significant role not only in how these participants tell a particularly surprising story, but also in how they use this telling to negotiate their interpersonal relationship. On the one hand, the enlarged role attributed to the recipient described above increases the level of interactional intensity that, as observed by Norrick, contributes to the participants' feelings rapport.

The challenge sequence may also be thought of as a joint sense-making activity that topicalizes the participants' common membership in the same social

network. While in execution of its evaluative functions our challenge sequences are designed to present something 'surprising' by manifestly demonstrating what in fact the recipient does not know, the teller's challenge also functions as an examination of the participants' common knowledge of the telling's characters, Gerg and Patricia, and what constitutes an unusual action for these individuals. The recipient is in effect called upon to guess, knowing what they know of the story's characters, what unusual action they might take.

Indeed, in both the tellings the participants' common fund of knowledge is explicitly invoked. Alejandro begins "El Convento" by stating what both Alejandro and Carlos already know about Gerg's trip to Italy, that he went without having made reservations. Carlos confirms this knowledge by further characterizing this pratice as common for Gerg. In "La Buseta," by contrast, Eduardo's defense of his initial guess that Patricia wants to have a pajama party in line 13, partially reproduced in (6.20), produces a sequence in which Eduardo and Ana negotiate what the common knowledge is upon which the challenge is based. Eduardo's assertion that a pajama party would be unusual in Venezuela defines the challenge context as events that would be unusual in Venezuela, while Ana's assertion that it would be unusual defines the context more broadly as things an American might do in Venezuela.

(6.20) "La Buseta"

13	E:	un piyama padi?
	E:	*a pajama party?*
14		(.)
15	A:	no joda
	A:	*don't fuck with me*
16		(0.2)
17	A:	>es[o –]eso – esa< e comú:n =[yo creo]
	A:	*>tha[t –] that – that<'s commo:n =[I think]*
		[[
18	E:	[gha] [no pero]aquí en Venezuela
	E:	*[gha] [no but] here in Venezuela*
19		no es tan común.
		it's not so common
20		(0.2)
21	E:	[tu pre]fiere
	E:	*[you pre]fer*
		[
22	A:	[na.] pero – pero sería comun: com[o:]
	A:	*[na.] but – but it would be common: lik[e:]*

			[
23	E:		[a cl]aro
	E:		*[a su]re*
24	A:	>no se vería< estrafalario	
	A:	*>it wouldn't be seen as< outrageous*	
25		(0.2)	
26	E:	y qué quiere hacer entonces. nos disfrace[mos] o algo así?	
	E:	*and what does she want to do then. we get disgui[sed] or something like that*	

It is particularly noteworthy that in both "El Convento" and "La Buseta" the challenge sequence telling organization is used by participants as a mechanism for examining their common knowledge of their friends. Alejandro's revelation of Gerg's surprising actions in "El Convento" are embedded in a larger discursive sequence in which Alejandro describes what their friends did over Holy Week while Carlos was out of town. Similarly, Ana's telling of Patricia's comments serves as an examination of Ana and Eduardo's common understanding of their American friends. Counting several Americans among their friends, discussion of what "gringos" do was a frequent source of conversation among these participants. Eduardo's comments in lines 42 and 44,

reproduced in (6.21), immediately following Ana's revelation, contribute to this ongoing debate by defining Americans as capable of the most extraordinary things.

(6.21) "La Buseta"

42	E:	[°pana°]viste. por eso lo gringo son famoso
	E:	*[°man°] you see. that's why gringos are famous*
43	A:	kha[:] [ha
		[[
44	E:	[lo]s [tipos se le ocurren una vainas que s[OLO a ell]os.
	E:	*[th]ose [guys they get some ideas that o[NLY them.*
		[
45	A:	[HA Ha ha]

The challenge sequences' role accordingly promotes the participants' feelings of solidarity by highlighting their common in-group membership.

Finally, while "El Convento" and "La Buseta" narrate the actions of third parties, these tellings allow their participants jointly to produce a public representation of their social networks. As in Norrick's "Poodle," these

participants portray themselves as belonging to a group of friends who are capable of doing quite surprising things.

6.4 Conclusions

The foregoing analysis contributes to recent developments in the analysis of stories and storytelling through the illustration of a unique and previously unexamined storytelling strategy, the challenge sequence telling. Challenge sequence tellings like "El Convento" and "La Buseta," it was argued, are designed to support the storytelling event's evaluative and socio-interactional functions. In narrative terms, the challenge sequence allows the teller to present the story's central narrative event as evaluatively surprising by inducing the story recipients into situationally displaying their failure to provide or guess this key narrative event. In socio-interactional terms, the challenge sequence supports the participants' formation of rapport by attributing an increasingly active role to the recipient in the story's production.

This analysis of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is very much in keeping with recent accounts of interactive storytelling organizations in its emphasis on storytelling and narrative evaluation as an interactive accomplishment that also carries out significant social functions. The detailed analysis of these storytelling events has demonstrated the active role extra-linguistic communicative displays

may play in storytelling. "El Convento" and "La Buseta," however, are unique storytelling organizations that distinguish themselves from previous storytelling accounts. Chapter 7 completes this study with further discussion of the distinctive features of these challenge sequence tellings.

Chapter 7

Challenge Sequence Tellings: Discussion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter elaborates on the analysis of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as challenge sequence tellings to consider some of the unique and distinguishing features of this distinctive storytelling strategy. Whereas the discussion in Chapters 4 and 6 supports current developments in the analysis of storytelling, this chapter considers the functions that distinguish challenge sequence tellings from other forms of storytelling. It will be shown that these tellings demonstrate a distinctive structural organization that supports the evaluative functions already attributed to this strategy. Challenge sequence tellings, moreover, represent an interesting amalgamation of distinctive forms of storytelling as well as other oral genres. The findings presented here are intended to constitute a starting point for future research on how people actually tell stories and how the decisions they make affect the narrative and socio-interactional functions of the telling.

This analysis begins with an examination of the unique, two-part structural organization of "El Convento" and "La Buseta."

7.2 Two-Part Structural Organization

Previous accounts of storytelling, including monologic teller-centered tellings and highly interactive telling organizations, describe the storytelling event as a single extended telling sequence in which participants present and interpret narrative events, as in "The Cigarette." In interactive storytelling events, such as collaborative retellings, participants alternate in the teller and recipient roles to present narrative content similarly over the course of a single extended narrative sequence. In "El Convento" and "La Buseta," the story's narrative content is divided between an initial challenge sequence and a subsequent post-challenge sequence. These tellings are produced in this sense essentially as double tellings. The central narrative event is initially revealed in the challenge sequence while further narrative details are presented in the post-challenge sequence. In "El Convento" Alejandro reveals the story's central narrative event, that Gerg stayed in a convent, in the challenge sequence. As seen in (7.1), how long Gerg stayed, how much he paid, and the conditions in the convent are revealed subsequently in the post-challenge sequence.

(7.1) "El Convento"

15 A: .h d[o noche]

A: *.h t[wo nights*]

[

16 C: [a: su ma]dre=

C: *[a: his mot]her=*

17 A: =di[ez dólare –]

A: *=te[n dollars –*]

[

18 C: [(ha) haha]ha (°-[-°)]

[

19 A: [diez] dólare la noche (0.2) y la –

A: *[ten]dollars the night (0.2) and the –*

20 >en el cuarto< habían (0.4) en ese cuarto habían cuarenta

>in the room< there was (0.4) in that room there was forty

21 persona también (0.8) .h no? (.) y que la – la mohnja

people as well (0.8) .h no? (.) and that the – the nun

22 llegaba a la die de la noche (.) apagaba la luz y la trencaba

arrived at ten at night (.) turned off the light and locked it

((the door))

23 ha y a dormir se: dicho

ha and to sleep you go

"La Buseta" demonstrates a similar double-telling organization. Ana initially reveals the telling's central narrative event, that Patricia said she wanted to drink cane alcohol on a city bus, in the story-initial challenge sequence. As may be seen in (7.2), in a subsequent second telling, Ana describes those events leading up to and including Patricia's comments.

(7.2) "La Buseta"

57 A: de que yo le conté a ella que una vez de (1.0) me vine

A: that I told her that once (1.0) I came

58 de Tovar, y (1.0) Tiffany trajo un cooler (0.6) Tiffanyha con

from Tovar, and (1.0) Tiffany brought a cooler (0.6) Tiffanyha with

59 el cooler tamando no (0.4) >pero que< habíamo echao:a –

the cooler drinking ya know (0.4) >but that< we'd pu:t: –

60 no me acuerdo que carajo había ahí y había algo. ahi

I don't remember what there was and there was something there

61 veníamo tomando y todo mundo arrecho porque .hh el olor

we were drinking and everyone mad because .hh the smell

62 y la vaina.=cada vez destapamo el – el taponcito pf:::: .h el

and the thing.=each time we took off the lid the – the top

pf:::: .h the

63 olor kha ento(h)ce .hh dice (0.8) yo le digo Patri – Patricia

smell kha th(h)en .hh she says (0.8) I say Patri – Patricia

64 AY:: yo quiero hacer eso. y yo porque = me dice .hh sí yo

OH:: I want to do that. and me why = she says to me .hh yeh I

65 quiero montarme en una buse:ta y empezar a dar vue(h)ta en

want to get on a bu:s and begin to go around in circ(h)le in

66 una buseta.=y tod(h)o [cua ha ha ha]

a little bus.=and everybo(h)dy [cua ha ha ha]

This double telling organization is particularly noteworthy in "La Buseta" where Ana's second telling in the post-challenge sequence is produced as a complete narrative sequence. The sequence depicts the complete chronological progressions from Ana's initial story to Patricia about a car trip Ana made and ends with Patricia's response, the central narrative event of "La Buseta." Ana's post-challenge telling is, in this regard, functionally similar to Norrick's (2000)

'retellings' since the recipient already has a functional knowledge of what the telling is about and what occurred. The post-challenge telling in "La Buseta," however, is unique as a retelling since it is produced directly following the original telling and functions as an amplification of the challenge sequence telling.

7.3 The Functional Role of the Two-Part Structural Organization

This unique two-part structural organization may also be said to create a storytelling division of labor between the initial challenge sequence and subsequent post-challenge sequence that supports the evaluative functions already attributed to "El Convento" and "La Buseta." The organization topicalizes these tellings' central narrative events and creates a relatively hierarchy of narrative content that prioritizes the evaluative interpretation of the central narrative event. In performative terms, the division of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" into two discrete storytelling sequences also allows the tellers to position themselves as providing further narrative content in the post-challenge sequence as if 'by popular demand.'

7.3.1 Topicalization

The presentation of the central narrative event story-initially in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" in the challenge sequence produces a storytelling effect akin to sentential topicalization. Kuno (1976) and Lambrecht (2003) note that at the level of the sentence, speakers may 'topicalize' sentential elements by displacing these elements into sentence-initial position, as in examples (7.3) and (7.4). In these examples the speaker topicalized 'ice cream' by left-dislocating this element from its sentential complement position in (7.3) to sentence-initial position in (7.4).

(7.3) I love ice cream.

(7.4) Ice cream, I love it.

The isolation of the sentential complement in a sentence-initial island marks this element as the focus of the sentence.

In a similar fashion, the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" may be said to topicalize these tellings' central narrative events by isolating them story-initially in the challenge sequence. The topicalization of the central narrative event in "La Buseta" is particularly noteworthy since, as in (7.2), the central narrative event is dislocated out of its chronological position within the narrative's development. While Patricia's comments are chronologically the last

narrative event in the post-challenge telling, her desire to drink cane alcohol on a city bus is initially presented in isolation in the challenge sequence. By presenting Patricia's comment in the challenge sequence, the teller rearranges the telling's chronological dimension to present the central narrative event first, well before the events leading up to this key event. In so doing, this event is marked as the topic of the telling.

In "El Convento," by contrast, the story-initial presentation of the central narrative event does not alter its position within the narrative's chronological dimension. Gerg's stay in a convent is sequentially the next event following his arrival in Italy with no place to stay. All the events revealed in the post-challenge sequence, including the length of Gerg's stay, the cost, and the actions of the nun, occur after Gerg's arrival at the convent. As a production element, the challenge sequence, nevertheless, has the same presentational effect of setting off the central narrative event in a story-initial island where it is highlighted as the topic of this narrative sequence.

The topicalization of narrative elements story initially is in fact not an uncommon storytelling strategy. Storytellers frequently reveal what their stories are about, at the beginning of a telling. Abstracts, as described by Labov (1972), clarify the telling's topic in a story-initial synopsis, like that seen in "The Cigarette." Partially reproduced in (7.5) from "The Cigarette," the teller begins

his story by disclosing that the story is about an incident in which he got into a fight because someone became angry that he would not give him a cigarette.

(7.5)

a An' then, three weeks ago I had a fight with this
other dude outside.

b He got mad
'cause I wouldn't give him a cigarette.

(Labov, 1972:356)

Similarly, story prefaces frequently reveal the story's central narrative event story initially. In story preface sequence (7.6), taken from the same corpus as "El Convento" and "La Buseta," for example, teller B topicalizes his telling's central narrative event, that he had a conversation with María, in line 1.

(7.6) Story Preface Sequence

1 B: no. ya hablé con Maria

B: no. I already spoke with María

2 (.)

3 M: sí↑

M: yeah↑

4 (0.2)

5 B: sí (0.2) ella empezó con una vaina allí (0.8) este (.)
me decía (1.0) que:

5 B: yeah (0.2) she began with this thing there (0.8) umm (.)
she said (1.0) that

As previously described, according to Sacks (1974), this early revelation of what the story is about serves both as an evaluative function of setting the tone of the story and a social function of facilitating the recipient's understanding of the story.

What distinguishes the topicalization functions of the challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" from abstracts and story prefaces, however, is the challenge sequence's additional evaluative function of setting the central narrative event off as 'problematic' and 'surprising,' as previously described in Chapter 6. As an interactive sequence, the challenge sequence directly implicates the recipient in the evaluative interpretation of the central narrative event.

7.3.2 The Hierarchization of Narrative Content

The challenge sequence may also be said to create a relative hierarchy of narrative content that prioritizes the evaluative interpretation of the central narrative event over the presentation of additional narrative content. As previously discussed in Chapter 4, in riddling, riddlers are motivated to reveal only that content that will allow the recipient to understand but not guess the riddle response (Dienhart, 1998). In its role as a presentational device for the central narrative events in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," the challenge sequence accordingly reveals only the central narrative event in its minimal informing context. The challenge sequence, in essence, distills the narrative sequence down to its primary narrative event and its setting. All other narrative events and details are left for a subsequent post-challenge telling. The recipient thus receives these tellings initially, knowing only that Gerg stayed in a convent and that Patricia said she wants to drink cane alcohol on a city bus. If the evaluative dimension of storytelling may be conceived of as a form of math in which narrative elements add up to a particular evaluative understanding event, the challenge sequence, in these regards, may be said to simplify the math. The story's evaluative dimension is calculated solely upon the participants' evaluative reaction to the central narrative event.

Other narrative details, including how long Gerg stayed, the cost, and the conditions in the convent in "El Convento," and those events leading up to Patricia's comments in "La Buseta," are delivered into a storytelling environment in which participants have already evaluatively received these tellings as particularly surprising events. This narrative content is, in this sense, subordinated to a previously established evaluative stance. The challenge sequence establishes a hierarchy of importance of the story's narrative content. The central narrative event is presented as the most important narrative element in these tellings while other narrative details are supplied as additional information that may be of interest to the recipient. The challenge-sequence storytelling organization, thus, is another way that the tellers constrain the potential evaluative understandings of their story. By presenting uniquely the central narrative event in the challenge sequence format, the recipient is forced to receive this event evaluatively as 'surprising' without the benefit of considering other informational narrative content.

This analysis of the two-part structural organization of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" supports Mandlebaum's (1987) observation that the structural organization of storytelling events supports their narrative and social functions. By dividing the telling into an initial minimal telling in which the central narrative event is initially revealed and a secondary post-challenge telling in which further

narrative events are revealed, the teller is able to highlight the importance of the central narrative event for the recipient's evaluative interpretation of the story.

At a production level of analysis, the two-part structural organization of these tellings may be said to serve performative functions of portraying the teller as the provider of further narrative details in the post-challenge sequence as if at the recipient's behest.

7.3.3 The Rest of the Story 'By Popular Demand'

The two-part structural organization of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" produces a unique performative element that allows the tellers to position themselves as providing further narrative details as if 'by popular demand.' As seen in the post-challenge sequences of both the tellings partially reproduced in (7.7) and (7.8), tellers Alejandro and Ana treat the recipients' positive evaluative response to the challenge sequence resolution as a license to provide further narrative content in a post-challenge sequence. In "El Convento" in (7.7), Alejandro receives Carlos' open-mouth gasp in line 13 by immediately presenting further narrative details, including the cost, length of stay, and conditions in the convent.

(7.7) "El Convento": Post-Challenge Response Sequence

12 A: en un cunvento. [hah

A: in a convent [hah

[

13 C: [((lip part))

14 (0.2)

15 A: .h d[o noche]

A: .h t[wo nights]

[

16 C: [a: su ma]dre=

C: [a: his mot]her=

17 A: =di[ez dólare –]

A: =te[n dollars –]

[

18 C: [(ha) haha]ha (°-[-°)]

Similarly in "La Buseta," partially reproduced in (7.8), Ana responds to Eduardo's positive evaluative uptake in line 39 by proceeding to the presentation of further narrative content in line 57.

(7.8)

37	A:	en una buseta (.) dando vu(h)uelt(h)a ha haha
	A:	*in a bus (.) going arou(h)d in ci(h)rcles(h)a ha haha*
38		[ha ha]
		[
39	E:	[((amazed] look))
40		(0.3)
41	A:	ha ha [ha ha]
		[
42	E:	[°pana°]viste. por eso lo gringo son famoso
	E:	*[°man°] you see. that's why gringos are famous*
43	A:	kha[:] [ha
		[[
44	E:	[lo]s [tipos se le ocurren una vainas que s[OLO a ell]os.
	E:	*[th]ose [guys they get some ideas that o[NLY them.*
		[
45	A:	[HA Ha ha]
46	E:	pan(h)a ha
	E:	*ma(h)an ha*

47 A: ha [ha]

[

48 E: [((sn]iffle))

49 (1.6)

50 A: .hh[h] [ya ve]

A: .hh[h] [you see]

[[

51 E: [beb]er caña en [una bu:]seta

E: [drink cane alcohol in [a bu:]s

52 (1.2)

53 A: >e que< yo le estaba cont[ando a ella]

53 A: >it's that< I was tel[ling her]

[

54 E: [no e]peligro[so

E: [it's not] danger[ous

[

55 A: [tsa ha

56 (0.2)

57 A: de que yo le conté a ella que una vez de (1.0) me vine

A: that I told her that once (1.0) I came

Notably, "La Buseta" does not exhibit the same immediacy between the end of the challenge sequence and the onset of the post-challenge sequence found in "El Convento." Recipient Eduardo demonstrates a highly level of 'participatory listenership' (Tannen, 1984:30) in his intervening turns at talk in lines 42, 44, 51, and 54. Yet, as will be discussed, Eduardo's turns in lines 52 and 54 in fact seem to acknowledge the relevance of a coming post-challenge telling that he is playfully attempting to block. Immediately following Eduardo's last intervention in line 54, Ana takes the floor again to present further narrative content in a post-challenge sequence.

How tellers Alejandro and Ana exploit the positive resolution of the challenge sequence as an authorization to provide further narrative details in a post-challenge sequence is particularly noteworthy for its similarities with story prefaces. As previously described in Chapter 3, Sacks (1974) describes story prefaces as an interactive sequence through which prospective tellers elicit and obtain a 'warrant' for a subsequent telling. Story prefaces are frequently designed to entice the recipients into giving their permission by asserting the 'newsworthiness' and 'tellability' of the proposed telling. The proposed telling is 'newsworthy' in that it presents new information unknown to the recipient and

'tellable' since its content is considered noteworthy or interesting. The challenge sequences in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" produce a variation on these story preface functions. The teller induces the recipient to demonstrate manifestly the newsworthiness and tellability of the story as a warrant for a post-challenge telling. In failing to guess the teller's challenge, where Gerg stayed and what Patricia said she wants to do, the recipients demonstrate that this event is in fact 'news' or 'newsworthy' to them. At once, the recipients' positive evaluative response to these revelations about Gerg and Patricia demonstrates that this information is interesting or 'tellable.' Whereas storytellers typically receive permission for a projected story as based on their promises of the newsworthiness and tellability of this telling, the recipients' actions in the challenge sequence demonstrate the novelty and interest of these events. As such they function as a performative feature of the telling by which the tellers are able to position themselves as producing the rest of the story as if 'by popular demand.'

The actual details of how the participants in these tellings exploit the challenge sequence as a story-preface-like mechanism for introducing further narrrative details in the post-challenge telling, however, are particularly noteworthy. In both "El Convento" and "La Buseta," participants may be seen to exploit the challenge sequence's story preface functions to produce additional narrative and socio-interactional functions. In "El Convento," Alejandro exploits

the timing of his presentation of subsequent narrative details to intensify the evaluative force of Carlos' surprised evaluative uptake. He contextualizes this reaction as based on only a partial knowledge of the facts. As seen in (7.9), while the transcription of "El Convento" alone seems to indicate that the recipient Carlos produces his talk in lines 16 and 18 in overlap with Alejandro's talk in lines 15 and 17, the video segment of this sequence reveals how Alejandro exploits Carlos' pre-speech postural displacements to anticipate when Carlos is going to talk and, accordingly, is able to produce talk in overlap. By timing the production of additional narrative elements ".h d[o noche" and "=di[ez dólare –" to coincide with Carlos' evaluative uptake of the immediately preceding narrrative content, Alejandro is able to portray Carlos as reacting with only a partial knowledge of the facts. In essence, Alejandro augments the evaluative significance of Carlos' surprised reactions by creating the meaning 'you don't know the half of it.'

(7.9) "El Convento"

15	A:	.h d[o noche]
	A:	*.h t[wo nights*]
		[
16	C:	[a: su ma]dre=

C: *[a: his mot]her=*

17 A: =di[ez dólare –]

A: *=te[n dollars –]*

[

18 C: [(ha) haha]ha (°-[-°)]

[

19 A: [diez] dólare la noche (0.2) y la –

A: *[ten]dollars the night (0.2) and the –*

20 >en el cuarto< habían (0.4) en ese cuarto habían cuarenta

>in the room< there was (0.4) in that room there was forty

In "La Buseta," by contrast, it is the recipient Eduardo who exploits his talk in overlap with each of Ana's attempts to proceed to the post-challenge sequence, produces the additional interactional meaning of 'this is play.' As seen in (7.9), just as in "El Convento" where Alejandro times his talk to occur in overlap with Carlos' coming response, Eduardo in "La Buseta" times his talk in lines 51 ("[beber caña en [una bu:seta") and 54 ("[no e peligro[so") to occur in overlap with Ana's just-initiated talk. By timing his turns at talk to coincide with Ana's pre-speech inbreath in line 50 and the presentation of further narrative details in line 53 (">e que< yo le estaba cont[ando a ella"), Eduardo blocks Ana's

attempts to begin the post-challenge sequence. In a strict application of the rules of talk, while Eduardo's actions constitute a violation of the turn-taking system and, in particular, Ana's rights as a speaker, obvious violations of these conventions may be exploited to define interaction as a type of 'play.' As described by Bateson (1956), they invoke a 'play frame.' Indeed, Ana's response in line 55 with a laugh sequence ('[tsa ha") demonstrates her understanding of Eduardo's actions as a playful attempt to block her from presenting further narrative content. In blocking the initiation of the post-challenge sequence, Eduardo provides evidence that he understands the relevance of the post-challenge sequence.

As demonstrated in the previous sections, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" distinguish themselves among storytelling organizations for their unique two-part structural organization, which plays a fundamental role in the evaluative functions of these tellings. The two-part presentation of narrative content both topicalizes these tellings' central narrative event while at the same time produces a relative hierarchy of narrative content that further highlights the central importance of this key narrative event. This structural organization produces a performative element that allows the tellers to present themselves as providing further narrative details as if by popular demand.

7.4 Hybrid Forms of Storytelling

At still another level of analysis, these challenge sequence tellings distinguish themselves from previously identified storytelling organizations, not for their unique features but rather for how they combine elements from several previously identified storytelling strategies and verbal genres. Specifically, they represent a unique amalgamation of monologic and polyphonic storytelling organizations, wordplay and storytelling, and gossip and storytelling.

7.4.1 Monologic vs. Interactive Storytelling

One of the main points of this study is that there are many ways of telling a story, ranging from teller-centered, monologic storytelling events to highly interactive polyphonic tellings. As discussed in Chapter 6, each of these storytelling organizations is associated with a particular set of storytelling advantages and disadvantages. Monologic, teller-centered storytelling, like "The Cigarette," favors the teller's rights as narrator to independently present and evaluatively characterize narrative events of which the recipient typically has no prior knowledge. The teller maintains control of the narrative event while running little risk of having the telling usurped by a co-narrating recipient. An

example is seen in Ochs' (1997) "The Detention Story" where Lucy's younger brother Chuck provides an alternative significance to her story by revealing Lucy has served detention herself. The recipient in turn enjoys limited access to the floor. Polyphonic storytelling events, by contrast, favor the interactive aspects of storytelling as a joint sense-making activity and social event. Participants may alternate in the telling role to contribute narrative content and evaluative stances they possess. The storytelling event as such constitutes a significant interactional event through which participants produce collaborative interpretations and negotiate their interpersonal relationships.

"El Convento" and "La Buseta," however, represent an interesting combination of these two extremes of the storytelling continuum. "El Convento" and "La Buseta" are in significant ways both polyphonic and monologic storytelling events. As developed in Chapter 6, one of the most noteworthy functions of the challenge sequences in these tellings is to transform the storytelling events into increasingly interactive tellings. The recipient is recruited as a crucial participant in the story's production who manifestly highlights the evaluative significance of these tellings' central narrative events. At the same time, the recipient evaluatively characterizes these events as surprising through evaluative uptake following the challenge resolution. The recipient as such plays a central role in the evaluative development of these tellings.

In other respects, however, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" remain remarkably similar to monologic storytelling events. Indeed, as has been developed in Chapter 6, these tellings begin as prototypical monologic tellings that are subsequently transformed by the challenge sequence. Yet, even following the tellers' challenges, the tellings continue to exhibit features consistent with monologic storytelling. As in monologic storytelling, the teller maintains control over the narrative content of the telling. The teller does cede the floor to the recipient in the challenge sequence, but the recipient does not enjoy the same independence of co-narrative recipients, as does Chuck in "The Detention Story." On the contrary, the recipient is constrained by the challenge sequence's adjacency pair organization to respond to the teller's challenge. The challenge recipients may either provide the missing challenge response, make some attempt to locate it, or admit their ignorance. While the recipients' role is fundamental in determining the evaluative significance of the missing challenge response, they are not given the liberty to introduce other narrative content. Their participation is limited to demonstrating whether they know or not the challenge response. As is frequently the case in monologic storytelling events, the recipient is an "unknowing" recipient. Indeed, the challenge-sequence storytelling strategy presupposes that the recipient does not know the projected response.

"El Convento" and "La Buseta," as such, represent a unique amalgamation of monologic and polyphonic storytelling. It is particularly noteworthy how this combination unites beneficial aspects of both monologic and polyphonic storytelling. As in monologic storytelling, the teller plays the primary role of narrator, controlling what narrative content is included in the telling and the evaluative significance attributed to this information. As in polyphonic storytelling, however, the teller is able to integrate the recipient as an active participant to support the storytelling event's social functions of promoting the participants' formation of solidarity. Whereas polyphonic storytelling is typically based on the participants' common knowledge of events and narrative participants, the challenge-sequence as a telling strategy uniquely transforms the recipients' ignorance into their basis for participation in the story's production.

"El Convento" and "La Buseta" represent, then, how storytellers are not constrained by a preconceived list of possible storytelling strategies. On the contrary, storytellers may pick and choose elements of varying strategies to produce a unique organization befitting the specific narrative and social needs. As will be discussed in the following section, storytellers may furthermore mix elements of storytelling with other verbal genres to produce unique storytelling organizations.

7.4.2 Challenge Sequence Tellings as a Combination of Storytelling and Word Play

"El Convento" and "La Buseta" may be analyzed as an amalgamation of storytelling and wordplay that bolsters the rapport-building functions of these tellings.

Wordplay, or the manipulation of language as a source of entertainment, may assume many forms. While some formalized forms, including anagrams, palindromes, tongue twisters, pangrams, and riddling, typically constitute a self-contained activity unto themselves, other more informal forms, including banter, puns, and allusion, may be embedded within larger activity sequence, where they frequently serve as a transformational device for redefining interaction as 'play.' Norrick (1993), for example, argues puns, such as that found in (7.10), may be used to transform an activity into an opportunity for play. By producing a pun in line 6 of (7.10), Jason transforms the prior serious discussion of dolphins into a playful interaction.

(7.10) Pun Sequence

1	Roger:	And it seems to be a completely egalitarian *band*.
2		There isn't a leader in a dolphin – do they have
3		pods?

4 Jason: I don't know what they're called.

5 Roger: Whales are pods. I don't know what dolphins are. I

6 Guess they're *pods* too. *Pod*dies. (1.3) Anyway

7 heh. Heh. Yeah but I mean–

8 Jason: They're poddy animals.

9 Roger: Dheh huh huh.

10 Jason: Heh heh heh heh *heh* ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.

11 Roger: Oooh. That's–that's like a blow to the midriff,

12 y'know. Huh huh *huh* huh huh.

13 Jason: Ha ha *ha* ha ha ha ha ha ha.

(Norrick, 1993:22-23)

Schegloff (1987) similarly notes that another form of wordplay, the 'joke first strategy,' may be exploited by interactionalists to redefine interaction as play. As may be seen in (7.11), in the 'joke first strategy' the recipient of the first pair part of an adjacency produces a humorous response by feigning a misunderstanding of the original speaker's turn at talk.

(7.11) The 'Joke First Strategy'

A: I'm leaving now. Are you coming?

B: No, just breathing hard.

(Norrick, 1993:22)

In these interactional functions, wordplay's capacity to invoke the play frame supports the socio-interactional aspects of interaction by relieving social tensions and promoting the participants' feelings of rapport. As observed by Norrick (1993), wordplay supports the participants' formation of solidarity by challenging the recipient's "negative face," basic claims to territories, personal preserves, and rights to non-distraction (Brown & Levinson, 1978). As previously observed in Chapter 6, forms of wordplay, including puns, allusions, jokes and riddles, frequently 'test' the recipient's ability to understand. While testing constitutes a threat to the recipient's negative face by calling into question the recipient's competency, Tannen (1990) observes that face-threatening acts paradoxically may be used to support participants' feelings of solidarity by connoting an intimate relationship beyond concerns of face.

As based on the riddle formula, the challenge sequence in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" similarly constitute a form of wordplay that transforms these tellings from prototypical monologic storytelling events into an interactive form of play. Indeed, the relevance of the play frame may be found in the details of these two storytelling events. As may be seen in (7.12), Alejandro reflects the

playful nature of the challenge sequence in line 10, immediately following his challenge to Carlos, in a series of laugh tokens that parallel his pencil taps on the table in front of him.

(7.12) "El Convento"

10		((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh

As may be seen in (7.13) from "La Buseta," Ana similarly demonstrates the relevance of the play frame in a series of laugh tokens in line 3 of her story introduction.

(7.13) "La Buseta"

1	A:	((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <po sí po sí po sí>. tú sabes que
	A:	*((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <well yes well yes well yes> you know that*
2		Patricia me dice (1.4) que (1.0) que ten(h)ía ganas de hacer algo:
		Patricia told me (1.4) that (1.0) that sh(h)e wanted to do something:
3		ha [ha ha ha]

Indeed, these laugh tokens and the play frame they invoke may be said to play a significant role in signaling to Eduardo that Ana in fact is not having problems remembering what Patricia said but is withholding this information as an invitation to Eduardo to guess. As seen in (7.14), Eduardo himself supports the ongoing relevance of the play frame in lines 51 and 54 when he playfully blocks Ana's initial attempts to reinitiate her telling in lines 50 and 53.

(7.14) "La Buseta"

50	A:	.hh[h]	[ya ve]
	A:	*.hh[h]*	*[you see]*
		[	[
51	E:	[beb]er caña en	[una bu:]seta
	E:	*[drink cane alcohol in*	*[a bu:]s*
52		(1.2)	
53	A:	>e que< yo le estaba cont[ando a ella]	
53	*A:*	*>it's that< I was tel[ling her]*	
			[
54	E:		[no e]peligro[so
	E:		*[it's not] danger[ous*
			[

55 A: [tsa ha

The challenge sequences, as such, constitutes an interactional resource by which the teller is able to transform these storytelling events into opportunities for play. In so doing, the teller supports the storytelling events' socio-interactional functions of supporting the participants' formation of solidarity.

It is particularly noteworthy that the pun and 'joke-first strategy' in examples (7.10) and (7.11) constitute an interactional resource by which the recipient of talk may transform one activity into another. The recipient in (7.10) exploited a pun to transform the activity of a serious discussion of dolphins into a play activity. Similarly, the recipient in (7.11) transforms a serious question-and-answer adjacency pair into an opportunity for play. In these examples, wordplay is employed by the recipient to redefine the activity in play. By contrast, in "El Convento" and "La Buseta" it is the tellers themselves that employ the challenge sequence as an integral part of their storytelling strategy. As observed in Chapter 6, the challenge sequence does surprise the recipients by transforming their role from passive to active recipient, but the activity at hand, a storytelling event, remains the same. The challenge-sequence telling observed in "El Convento" and "La Buseta," as such, constitutes a unique combination of the forms and functions of storytelling and wordplay. The incorporation of elements of

wordplay supports these tellings' socio-interactional functions of promoting the participants' formation of solidarity.

7.4.3 "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as a Type of Gossip

Finally, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" may be considered a form of gossip. The term 'gossip' originates in Old English, where it originally referred to 'god-sibbs,' godparents known to frequently engage in small talk about the children and other relatives. The term has evolved in the popular conception of a form of 'idle talk' (Rysman, 1977). Whereas Kurland and Pelled (2000) define gossip from an organizational perspective as "informal and evaluative talk in an organization, usually among no more than a few individuals, about another member of that organization who is not present" (p. 429), generally speaking, gossip may be thought of as "informal evaluative talk, typically produced among a few individuals, about a third party who is not present." Notably, the evaluative functions described in Chapter 6 of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as interpretive events in which participants consider the actions of third parties are consistent with this understanding of gossip.

Gossiping and storytelling, in fact, share many of the same functions. Gossiping, like storytelling, provides its participants with information about the events occurring in the world around them. Organizational researchers, who do

much of the research on gossip, have observed that within large companies, gossip constitutes an important informal channel of information. Gossip is frequently referred to as the 'grapevine,' through which community members share 'extra-official' information about who to avoid, with whom to talk to get help, and how to get a raise or a promotion (Michelson & Mouly, 2002).

Like storytelling, gossip similarly constitutes a mechanism through which its participants may produce social representations of self. Storytellers frequently portray themselves through their accounts of the events of their lives and how they have interpreted these events, as occurs in narratives or personal experience such as those in Labov and Waletsky's (1967, 1968) research. Gossipers, however, may characterize themselves in contrast with the actions of others. In discussing the evaluatively noteworthy actions of third parties, gossipers are able to make relevant social comparisons between the actions of others and how the participants would have handled these situations themselves. Gossip, as such, allows participants to portray themselves as individuals who would act in a certain way. Like stories, gossip may act as a form of social control. By pointing out and evaluating the actions of others, experienced community members may instruct the uninitiated in what is and what is not appropriate behavior.

Finally, like storytelling, gossip constitutes an interactional resource through which its participants may foster interactional rapport. Tannen (1990)

notes "[T]alking about someone who is not there is a way of establishing rapport with someone who *is* there" (p. 107). Tannen observes that gossiping itself presupposes a prior shared level of intimacy and, as such, may be used to make socially evident an intimate relationship or to move participants towards intimacy. The act of gossiping, however, reinforces participants' rapport by engaging them in an activity in which they collaboratively construct an interpretation of the topic of gossip. In constructing a common evaluative understanding of the piece of gossip, participants reinforce their rapport by aligning their shared values and world views. Gossip similarly supports participants' rapport by aligning them with each other frequently against the third party. Finally, gossip fosters rapport by highlighting participants' common 'in-group' membership as members of that community in which the item of gossip holds some significance. "Information, no matter how salient or scandalous, isn't gossip unless the participants know enough about the people involved to experience the thrill of revelation (Yerkovich, 1977:196).

From an ethnographic perspective, the analysis of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as gossip events is particularly fitting since, in both storytelling events, participants are being informed on what their friends did over the previous Holy Week vacations. In "El Convento," in particular, Alejandro is reporting to Carlos the latest news about their friends because he spent the previous week out of

town. It is in this context that Alejandro introduces storytelling event "El Convento" to account for the surprising actions of their mutual friend Gerg on his vacation to Italy.

The analysis of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as gossip events contributes to both storytelling and gossip research. As storytelling events, these tellings may be treated as yet another of the growing list of storytelling genres previously overlooked by traditional oral narrative analysis. As opposed to narratives of personal experience in which the tellers recount a series of events that happened to themselves, in these 'gossip tellings' tellers construct and evaluatively interpret the actions of others in a storytelling event that aligns participants and supports their formation of rapport. As a type of gossip, "El Convento" and "La Buseta" provide an empirically grounded means for gossip researchers to address how people exactly do gossip. Previous gossip research has attempted to address the discrepancy between, on the one hand, the public denunciation of gossip as 'trivial chatter' at best and 'an ignominious act' at worst (Rosnow & Fine, 1976:85) and its notable frequency in interaction. Similarly, researchers address the discrepancy between the popular association of gossip with the talk of women and the noteworthy frequency of gossip in the talk of men (Michelson & Mouly, 2000). These studies, however, do not provide an empirical means to describe how people gossip.

"El Convento" and "La Buseta," in this sense, provide concrete examples of one gossiping strategy: the person with something to share challenged the recipient to guess what it is. The analysis developed in Chapter 6 of the functions of challenge sequences as a storytelling strategy may equally be extended to the analysis of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" as gossiping events. The challenge sequence supports evaluative functions of gossip sessions by highlighting the central event of the gossip as being particularly surprising. The interactive organization of the challenge sequence supports the event's socio-interactional functions of contributing to the participants' rapport by directly implicating the recipient in the production and interpretation of the piece of gossip.

7.5 Topics for Future Research

The analysis of storytelling is a particularly rich field of investigation because it provides the researcher with a single research topic that addresses issues addressed in narrative studies, linguistics, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. Accordingly, the analysis of storytelling permits a holistic approach to the analysis of human action. This study has attempted to address as many of these topics as possible, but, due to its limitations certain topics have been left unexamined. Consistent with the recent advances in storytelling analyses, future

research should attempt to identify other storytelling strategies as well as account for how their organization contributes to the story's narrative and social functions. As was done in this chapter, the intersections of storytelling and other verbal genres should also be examined.

Another rich line of research is the relationship between particular storytelling strategies and the characteristics of the culture in which the storytelling event is produced. Though this study does not follow this perspective, other oral narrative researchers have pursued culturally grounded and cross-cultural analyses (Blum-Kulka, 1993; Scollon & Scollon, 1981; Tannen, 1981). This research demonstrates that storytelling events vary by culture and address culture-specific values. Blum-Kulka (1993), for example, found that Israeli participant observers to dinner table conversations were allotted a much more active role in contributing to storytelling events and even initiating stories of their own than their American counterparts. Blum-Kulka attributes this pattern to the high value placed on solidarity among Israelis.

As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, this study is not intended to serve as a characterization specifically of Venezuelan or Spanish-language-specific storytelling practices. On the contrary the analysis presented here of "El Convento" and "La Buseta" is designed to contribute to the growing classification of identified storytelling strategies by illustrating the form and

function of one particular storytelling strategy, the challenge-sequence telling. Future research, however, should address how Venezuelans in particular tell stories and how their practices contrast with other culturally-based repertoires. Future research should also adress how challenge sequence tellings contribute to Venezuelan cultural practices. One possible response to this question that should be analyzed further is that challenge sequence tellings contribute to a solidarity ethos among Venezuelans who tend to favor group activities that promote a high level of interaction. This tendency notably manifested itself in the collection of the materials for this study. While the researcher initially attempted to carry out video-tapings for this study while he was still in the room to monitor the equipment and resolve any unforeseen problems, this practice had to be modified since informants seemed intent on incorporating him into the conversation. A storytelling strategy like challenge sequence tellings supports this tendency by contributing to a high level of interaction within the storytelling event.

7.6 Conclusions

How and why do people tell stories? The answer to this question until recently has been that storytellers typically take the floor to present their interpretation of a series of events through a limited set of narrative organizations for the entertainment of their audience. While this view of storytelling is

consistent with popular and literary conceptions of the *raconteur*, recent empirical advances in the analysis of human interaction have called this perspective into question. Rather than a solitary endeavor, storytelling in situated interaction is frequently a highly interactive, multi-modal event between both tellers and recipients. Instead of using a limited set of pre-established storytelling organizations, storytelling strategies vary widely. Distinctive storytelling strategies, finally, carry out distinctive narrative and socio-interactional functions.

This study has supported these developments in the analysis of storytelling with a case study analysis of two storytelling events. This analysis has demonstrated how two storytelling events were actually produced, examining the actions of both tellers and recipients and how these actions contribute to the story's production. In addition, this study contributes to storytelling analyses by illustrating yet another previously unexamined strategy, the 'challenge sequence telling.' This unique strategy supports both the storytelling event's evaluative and social functions. In narrative terms, the challenge sequence functions as an evaluative focalization mechanism that highlights the evaluative significance of the story's central narrative event while at once characterizing this event as particularly surprising. In socio-interactional terms, the challenge sequence reinforces the telling's social dimension by contributing to the participants' formation of rapport. This contribution is made by directly and actively

implicating the story recipient in the production of the story and its evaluative dimension. This analysis, moreover, advances upon recent developments in the analysis of storytelling by indicating the point of contact between types of storytelling and other verbal genres. Challenge sequence tellings, in particular, represent a cross between traditionally conceived teller-centered storytelling and polyphonic storytelling, storytelling and word play, and storytelling and gossip.

This case-study analysis of storytelling events "El Convento" and "La Buseta," finally, has made a significant contribution to the field of Conversation Analysis by providing a model application of this research methodology to the analysis of Spanish-based interaction. It is hoped that this study will serve as a model for other researchers interested in Spanish toward a conversation analytic analysis of interaction.

Appendix A

"El Convento" : Morphological Gloss

Key to morphological commentary

Person reference
1st = 1st person
2nd = 2nd person
3rd = 3rd person
sing. = singular
plur. = plural

Formality
inf. = informal
form. = formal

Gender reference
fem. = feminine
masc. = masculine
neut. = neuter

Verbal Aspect
pres. = present tense
pret. = preterite or punctual past
imp. = imperfect or continual past
prog. = progressive
perf. = perfective
subj. = subjunctive
hor. = hortative or command forms

1	C:	sí [(---)]
	C:	sí [(---)]
	C:	*yes [(---)*]
		[
2	A:	[be.]>uste supo que Ge:rg< (.) °cuando llegó a Italia°
	A:	[be.]>uste$^{2nd,sing.,form}$ supo$^{pret.,2nd.,sing.,form.}$ que Ge:rg< (.) °cuando llegó$^{pret.,3rd.,sing.}$ a Italia$^{fem.,sing.o}$
	A:	*[good. >you knew that Gerg< (.) °when he arrived in Italy°*
7		que – >que no tenía en donde< – que[darse]
		que – >que no tenía$^{imp.,3rd.,sing.}$ en donde< – que[darse$^{3rd.,sing.,}$]
		that – >that he didn't have anywhere – to [stay]
		[
4	C:	[epa.]
		[epa.]
		[hey]

5 así fue siempre
así fue[pret., 3rd., sing.] siempre
It's always been that way
6 (.)
7 A: sí. que no tenía donde quedarse y vaina. y .h (0.2)
sí. que no tenía[imp., 3rd., sing.] donde quedarse[3rd., sing.] y vaina[fem., sing.]. y .h (0.2)
A: yeh. that he didn't have anywhere to stay and stuff and .h (0.2)
8 to:l mun- toda vaina todo lo hoteles ful. y toda vaina.
to[masc., sing.]:l mun[masc., sing.]- toda[fem., sing.] vaina[fem., sing.] todo[masc., sing.] lo[masc., plur.] hoteles[masc., plur.] ful. y toda[fem., sing.] vaina[fem., sing.].
everyon– everything all the hotels full. and everything.
9 >y a que no sabe dónde se quedó<
>y a que no sabe [2nd., sing., form.]dónde se quedó[pret., 3rd., sing.]<
>and I bet you don't know where he stayed<
10 ((tap tap)) ((tap))/ha ((tap))/ha (.) ((tap))/.hh
11 C: (0.8)((shrug))
12 A: en un cunvento. [hah
A: en un[masc., sing.] cunvento[masc., sing.]. [hah
A: in a convent [hah
[
13 C: [((lip part))
14 (0.2)
15 A: .h d[o noche]
A: .h d[o noche[fem., plur.]]
A: .h t[wo nights]
[
16 C: [a: su ma]dre=
C: [a: su[sing.] ma]dre[fem., sing.]=
C: [a: his mot]her=
17 A: =di[ez dólare –]
A: =di[ez dólare[masc., plur.] –]
A: =te[n dollars –]
[
18 C: [(ha) haha]ha (°-[-°)]
[
19 A: [diez] dólare la noche (0.2) y la –
A: [diez] dólare[masc., plur.] la[fem., sing.] noche[fem., sing.]

(0.2) y la –

A: *[t̲en]dollars the night (0.2) and the –*

20 > en el cuarto< habían (0.4) en ese cuarto habían cuarenta

> en el[masc., sing.] cuarto[masc., sing.]< habían[imp., 3rd., plur.] (0.4) en ese[masc., sing.] cuarto[masc., sing.] habían[imp., 3rd., plur.] cuarenta[fem., sing.]

>in the room< there was (0.4) in that room there was forty

21 persona también (0.8) .h no? (.) y que la – la mohnja

persona[fem., sing.] también (0.8) .h no? (.) y que la[fem., sing.] – la[fem. sing.] mohnja[fem., sing.]

people as well (0.8) .h no? (.) and that the – the nun

22 llegaba a la die de la noche (.) ap<u>aga</u>ba la luz y la trencaba

llegaba[imp., 3rd., sing.] a la[fem., plur.] die de la[fem., sing.] noche[fem. sing.] (.) ap<u>aga</u>ba[imp., 3rd. , sing.] la[fem., sing.] luz[fem., sing.] y la[fem., sing.] trencaba[imp., 3rd., sing.]

arrived at ten at night (.) t̲urned off the light and locked it ((the door))

23 ha y a dormir se: dicho

ha y a dormir se:[7] dicho

ha and to sleep you go

24 (1.4)

25 A: ha[ha ha .hh]

[

26 C: [<u>a</u> su madre] (---[------)

C: [<u>a</u> su[sing.] madre[fem., sing.]] (---[------)

C: *[<u>a</u> his mother (---[------)*

[

27 A [chamo] te cree que uno ta en Italia y: =

A [chamo[masc., sing.]] te[2nd., sing., inf.] cree[2nd., sing., inf.] que uno[masc., sing.] ta[8] en Italia[fem., sing.] y: =

A: *[man] can you believe you're in Italy and: =*

28 ((pen slap on table)) ((lateral head shakes)) ((hand slap on

29 table)) ((lateral head shakes)) <u>cu</u>estese[2nd., sing., form.] a la[fem., plur.] diez (0.4) uno[masc., sing.] va[pres., 3rd., sing.]

table))((lateral head shakes)) <u>go</u> to bed at ten (0.4) you're going

30 a [rumbiar >y no sé que<

a [rumbiar >y no sé[pres., 1st. , sing.] que<

[7] Phonetic reduction of 'se ha', 3rd person, sing.

[8] Phonetic reduction of 'esta', 3rd person, sing.

to [bar hop >and I don't know<

[

31 C: [cuánto tiempo se quedó] allí

C: [cuánto$^{masc., sing.}$ tiempo$^{masc., sing.}$ se quedó$^{pret., 3rd., sing.}$] allí

C: [how long did he stay there]

Appendix B

"La Buseta" : Morphological Gloss

Key to morphological commentary

Person reference
1st = 1st person
2nd = 2nd person
3rd = 3rd person
sing. = singular
plur. = plural

Formality
inf. = informal
form. = formal

Gender reference
fem. = feminine
masc. = masculine
neut. = neuter

Verbal Aspect
pres. = present tense
pret. = preterite or punctual past
imp. = imperfect or continual past
prog. = progressive
perf. = perfective
subj. = subjunctive
hor. = hortative or command forms

1	A:	((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <po sí po sí po sí>. tú sabes que
	A:	((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <po sí po sí po sí>. tú[2nd.,sing.,inf.] sabes[pres., 2nd., sing., inf.] que
	A:	*((audible lip part)) .hh (0.2) <well yes well yes well yes> you know that*
2		Patricia me dice (1.4) que (1.0) que ten(h)ía ganas de hacer algo:
		Patricia me[1st., sing.] dice[pres., 3rd., sing.] (1.4) que (1.0) que ten(h)ía[imp., 3rd., sing.] ganas[fem. plu.] de hacer algo:
		Patricia told me (1.4) that (1.0) that sh(h)e wanted to do something:
3		ha [ha ha ha]
		[
4	E:	[algo difer]ente?
	E:	[algo[masc., sing.] difer]ente[masc./fem., sing.]?
	E:	*[something differ]ent?*
5		(.)
6	A:	e(h) si(hi) (0.2) .ha coroto muy dif(h)erente(h)ehehe
	A:	e(h) si(hi) (0.2) .ha coroto[masc., sing.] muy dif(h)erente(h)ehehe[masc./fem.. sing
	A:	*e(h) ye(h)s (0.2) .ha something very diff(h)erent(h)ehehe*
7		(.)

8 E: [por]qué
E: [por]qué
E: *[why]*
[
9 A: [.hh]
10 (.)
11 A: si no viene un agente no va na:
A: si no viene[pres., 3rd., sing.] un[masc., sing.] agente[masc., sing.] no va[pres., 3rd., sing.] na:[fem., sing.]
A: *if a policeman does come nothing will happen:*
12 (.)
13 E: un piyama padi?
E: un[masc. sing.] piyama padi?[masc., sing.]
E: *a pajama party?*
14 (.)
15 A: no joda
A: no joda[pres., hor., 2nd/3rd., sing.]
A: *don't fuck with me*
16 (0.2)
17 A: >es[o –]eso – esa< e comú:n =[yo creo]
A: >es[o[masc., sing.] –]eso[masc., sing.] – esa[fem., sing.] < e[pres., 3rd., sing.] comú:n =[yo[1st., sing.] creo[pres., 1st., sing.]]
A: *>tha[t –] that – that<'s commo:n =[I think]*
[[
18 E: [gha] [no pero]aquí en Venezuela
E: [gha] [no pero]aquí en Venezuela[fem., sing.]
E: *[gha]* *[no but] here in Venezuela*
19 no es tan común.
no es[pres., 3rd., sing.] tan común.[masc./fem., sing.]
it's not so common
20 (0.2)
21 E: [tu pre]fiere
E: [tu[2nd., sing.] pre]fiere[pres., 2nd. , sing.]
E: *[you pre]fer*
[
22 A: [na.] pero – pero sería comun: com[o:]
A: [na.] pero – pero sería[cond., 3rd., sing.] comun:[masc., sing.] com[o:]

	A:	*[na.] but – but it would be common: lik[e:]*
		[
23	E:	[a cl]aro
	E:	[a cl]aro
	E:	*[a su]re*
24	A:	>no se vería<estrafalario
	A:	>no se vería$^{cond., imp., 3rd., sing.}$< estrafalario$^{masc., sing.}$
	A:	*>it wouldn't be seen as< outrageous*
25		(0.2)
26	E:	y qué quiere hacer entonces. nos disfrace[mos] o algo así?
	E:	y qué quiere$^{pres., 3rd., sing.}$ hacer entonces. nos$^{1st., plur.}$ disfrace[mos]$^{subj., 1st., plur.}$ o algo así?
	E:	*and what does she want to do then. we get disgui[sed] or something like that*
		[
27	A:	[no.]
28		(1.4)
29	A:	quiere beber caña,
	A:	quiere$^{pres., 3rd., sing.}$ beber caña$^{fem., sing.}$,
	A:	*she wants to drink cane alcohol,*
30		(0.8)
31	A:	adivine dónde
	A:	adivine$^{hor., 2nd., form.}$ dónde
	A:	*guess where*
32		(2.7)
33	E:	donde la viuda
	E:	donde la$^{fem., sing.}$ viuda$^{fem., sing.}$
	E:	*at the widow's place*
34		(0.2)
35	A:	>m¿a<
36		(1.2)
37	A:	en una buseta (.) dando vu(h)uelt(h)a ha haha
	A:	en una$^{fem., sing.}$ buseta$^{fem., sing.}$ (.) dando$^{prog.}$ vu(h)uelt(h)a$^{fem., plur.}$ ha haha
	A:	*in a bus (.) going arou(h)d in ci(h)rcles(h)a ha haha*
38		[ha ha]
		[
39	E:	[((amazed] look))
40		(0.3)
41	A:	ha ha [ha ha]

[
42 E: [°pana°]viste. por eso lo gringo son famoso
E: [°pana$^{fem.,sing.o}$]viste$^{pret.,2nd.,sing.inf.}$. por eso$^{neut,sing.}$ lo$^{masc.,plur.}$ gringo$^{masc.,plur.}$ son$^{pres.,3rd.,plur.}$ famoso$^{masc.,plur.}$
E: [°man°] you see. that's why gringos are famous
43 A: kha[:] [ha
[[
44 E: [lo]s [tipos se le ocurren una vainas que s[OLO a ell]os.
E: [lo]s$^{masc.,plur.}$ [tipos$^{masc.plur.}$ se le$^{3rd.,sing.}$ ocurren$^{pres.,3rd.,plur.}$ una$^{fem.,plur.}$ vainas$^{fem.plur.}$ que s[OLO a ell]os$^{masc.,plur.}$.
E: [th]ose [guys they get some ideas that o[NLY them.
[
45 A: [HA Ha ha]
46 E: pan(h)a ha
E: pan(h)a$^{fem.,sing.}$ ha
E: ma(h)an ha
47 A: ha [ha]
[
48 E: [((sn]iffle))
49 (1.6)
50 A: .hh[h] [ya ve]
A: .hh[h] [ya ve$^{pres.,2nd.,sing.,form./inf.}$]
A: .hh[h] [you see]
[[
51 E: [beb]er caña en [una bu:]seta
E: [beb]er caña$^{fem.,sing.}$ en [una$^{fem.,sing.}$ bu:]seta$^{fem.,sing.}$
E: [drink cane alcohol in [a bu:]s
52 (1.2)
53 A: >e que< yo le estaba cont[ando a ella]
A: >e$^{pres.,3rd.,sing.}$ que< yo$^{1st,sing.}$ le$^{3rd.,sing.}$ estaba$^{imp.,1st,sing.}$ cont[ando$^{prog.}$ a ella$^{fem.,sing.}$]
A: >it's that< I was tel[ling her]
[
54 E: [no e]peligro[so
E: [no e$^{pres.,3rd.,sing.}$]peligro[so$^{masc.,sing.}$
E: [it's not] danger[ous
[
55 A: [tsa ha
56 (0.2)

57 A: de que yo le conté a ella que una vez de (1.0) me vine

A: de que yo[1st., sing.] le[3rd., sing.] conté[pret., 1st., sing.] a ella[fem., sing.] que una[fem., sing.] vez[fem., sing.]

de (1.0) me[1st., sing.] vine[pret., 1st., sing.]

A: that I told her that once (1.0) I came

58 de Tovar, y (1.0) Tiffany trajo un cooler (0.6) Tiffanyha con

de Tovar, y (1.0) Tiffany trajo[pret., 3rd., sing.] un[masc., sing.] cooler[masc., sing.] (0.6) Tiffanyha con

from Tovar, and (1.0) Tiffany brought a cooler (0.6) Tiffanyha with

59 el cooler tamando no (0.4) >pero que< habíamo echao:a –

el[masc., sing.] cooler[masc., sing.] tamando[prog.] no (0.4) >pero que< habíamo[perf., 1st, plur.] echao:a –

the cooler drinking ya know (0.4) >but that< we'd pu:t: –

60 no me acuerdo que carajo había ahí y había algo. ahi

no me[1st., sing.] acuerdo[pres., 1st., sing. que carajo[masc., sing.] había[imp., 3rd., sing./plur.]

ahí y había[imp., 3rd., sing./plur.] algo. ahi

I don't remember what there was and there was something there

61 veníamo tomando y todo mundo arrecho porque .hh el olor

veníamo[imp., 1st., plur.] tomando[prog.] y todo[masc., sing.] mundo[masc., sing.] arrecho[masc., sing.] porque .hh el[masc., sing.] olor[masc., sing.]

we were drinking and everyone mad because .hh the smell

62 y la vaina.=cada vez destapamo el – el taponcito pf:::: .h el

y la[fem., sing.] vaina[fem., sing.].=cada vez[fem., sing.] destapamo[pret., 1st., plur.] el[masc., sing.]

– el[masc., sing.] taponcito[masc., sing.] pf:::: .h el[masc., sing.]

and the thing.=each time we took off the lid the – the top pf:::: .h the

63 olor kha ento(h)ce .hh dice (0.8) yo le digo Patri – Patricia

olor[masc., sing.] kha ento(h)ce .hh dice[pres., 3rd., sing.] (0.8) yo[1st., sing.] le[3rd., sing.] digo[pres., 1st., sing.] Patri – Patricia

smell kha th(h)en .hh she says (0.8) I say Patri – Patricia

64 AY:: yo quiero hacer eso. y yo porque = me dice .hh sí yo

AY:: yo[1st., sing.] quiero[pres., 1st., sing.] hacer eso[neut., sing.]. y yo[1st., sing.] porque = me[1st., sing.] dice[pres., 3rd., sing.] .hh sí yo[1st., sing.]

OH:: I want to do that. and me why = she says to me .hh yeh I

65 quiero montarme en una buse:ta y empezar a dar vue(h)ta en

quiero[pres., 1st., sing.] montarme [1st., sing.] en una[fem., sing.] bu<u>se:</u>ta[fem., sing.] y empezar a

dar vue(h)ta[fem., plur.] en

want to get on a bu<u>:s</u> and begin to go around in circ(h)le in

66 una buseta.=y tod(h)o [cua ha ha ha]

una[fem., sing.] buseta[fem., sing.].=y tod(h)o[masc., sing.] [cua ha ha ha]

a little bus.=and everybo(h)dy [cua ha ha ha]

[

67 E: [kha ha]

68 hahahaha

Appendix C

Transcription Conventions

Symbol	Meaning
(0.0)	pauses or gaps in approximate tenths of seconds
(.)	micropause – less than 0.2 seconds in length
CAPS	relatively high amplitude
Underline	punctuated or forceful pronunciation
°content°	content produced with decreased amplitude as compared to surrounding phonetic material
<content>	content produced with a decreased rate of production as compared to surrounding phonetic material
>content<	content produced with increasing rate of production as compared to surrounding phonetic material
,	maintained or 'continuing' intonation contour
?	rising intonation contour (not a question mark)
↑	prominent raising intonation contour
.	falling intonation contour
↓	prominent falling intonation contour
::	lengthened syllables

¿	glottal-stop or self-editing marker
=	'latched' utterances with no gap
hh	indicates an audible out-breath; longer out-breaths are indicated with increasing h's
.hh	indicates an audible in-breath; longer in-breaths are indicated with increasing h's.
ha	laugh tokens
(h)	word-internal laughter
(())	transcriptionist comments
(--)	unrecoverable sequence of talk; number dashes indicate relative length of unrecoverable content
→	draws attention to location of phenomenon of direct interest to discussion
–	word cut off or phrase break
[	initiation of speech in overlap
]	conclusion of speech in overlap

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VITA

Theodore James Jobe was born in San Francisco, California on December 27, 1965, the son of Avery C. Jobe and Mary McLendon Jobe. After completing his work at Mills High School, Millbrae, California, he entered the University of California, Davis in 1984, where he received a bachelor's degree in Spanish Literature. Following a three-year stint in the United States Navy, Ted began graduate studies in August 1994 at the University of Texas at Austin. He has taught undergraduate Spanish at the University of Texas at Austin, Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas, and the State University of West Georgia in Carrollton, Georgia. He has also published several articles on discourse analysis and second language acquisition.

Permanent Address: 9304 Quail Meadow Dr., Austin, TX, 78758

This dissertation was typed by the author.